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Miſcellanea.

BY

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*

BARONET.

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Advertiſement of the Stationer to the Reader.

THE Author of theſe Eſſays having heard, that ſince the firſt Publiſhing of them, as well as before, ſeveral Books that in the great Licenſe of Printing have come forth without Names, were either by miſtake, or otherwiſe given out to be his; he has upon this Edition given me leave to ſet his Name to this, and at the ſame time to give this publick aſſurance, that ſince the firſt Printing his OBSERVATIONS upon the *United Provinces*, nothing of his has been Publiſhed beſides theſe Papers, nor ſhall be at any time hereafter without his Name.

The

The AUTHOR's Letter to the *Stationer*, upon occaſion of the following Papers.

I Have received both your Excuſes and Deſires about thoſe Papers I left in your Fathers hands upon my ſeveral journeys into Holland, *with a charge that none ever ſhould ſee them, unleſs I happen'd to dye before my return: In that caſe only I gave him leave to Print them, becauſe I found it would be a ſatisfaction to him, and he thought an advantage. I will examine no further how ſeveral of them came to run abroad both in Print and Manuſcipt, ſince you juſtifie your ſelf; and I will not accuſe your Father, whom I ever eſteemed a good man. All I can ſay of the matter is, That the Two Copies at firſt diſ-*

perſed, came from two of your Fathers Friends, and that you confeſs to have Printed Ten by order of one of Mine while I was abroad, upon the belief he would not have deſired it without my Conſent; but that you ought not to have concluded without knowing it from me, as you might eaſily have done in ten days time.

You pretend to be ſure the Preſs was broken after that number was taken off; which is a thing you cannot anſwer for, without your Printers leave; nor if it were ſo, do I make any difference between Ten and a Hundred. This I am ſure of, that how few ſoever were Printed, very many have ſeen them, and more have heard of them, and ſo many of my acquaintance preſt me for Copies, that I have been troubled to refuſe them, and

and to be ſo hardly believed when I aſſured them I had none.

Now for what you tell me of the great care and pains you have taken, ſince I ſpoke to you laſt, to diſcover how they went out, and to call them in, and that you find this laſt is impoſſible, and apprehend every day that ſome or other will print them without your knowledge or mine, and thereupon ground your deſires for my leave to do it; I know not well what to ſay, having ſaid ſo much to you already upon this occaſion, and think 'tis beſt troubling my ſelf no longer about a thing that is paſt remedy: Therefore I am content you ſhould publiſh them, rather than any other ſhould do it without my leave, and rather than any further myſtery ſhould be made of thoſe that are abroad,

which

which has given the occasion of two other Books being laid to my charge, that I have been so far from Writing, as never to have seen.

For the Order and Titles of the several Papers, they must, I doubt, be the same with the Copies already dispersed, since these cannot be recalled. For any general Title, I leave it wholly to you, as well as the time; nor are you to expect from me either any Correction of Press, or trouble of Preface; being resolved, since they first run away without my consent, to own them no longer, and to concern my self in them no more than if they had never been mine. What advantages soever you can propose to your self by them, I can expect but one (and that will agree very ill with yours) which is, That the publishing of them may possibly suppress them; and that they may be talkt of no more when once they grow common; since nothing but the scarcity of them can give them any vogue. If this happens, I shall be at quiet, which is all I ask of them or of you.

June 12. 1679.

A SURVEY of the Constitutions and Interests of the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France, *and* Flanders; *with their Relation to* England *in the Year* 1671. *And then given to one of his Majesties Principal Secretaries of State, upon the ending of my Embassie at the* Hague.

THE Decay and Dissolution of Civil, as well as Natural Bodies, proceeding usually from outward Blows and Accidents, as well as inward Distempers or Infirmities; it seems equally necessary for any Government to know and reflect upon the Constitutions, Forces, and Conjunctures among

their neighbouring States, as well as the Factions, Humours, and Intereſts of their own Subjects: For all Power is but comparative; nor can any Kingdome take a juſt meaſure of its ſafety by its own riches or ſtrength at home, without caſting up at the ſame time what Invaſions may be feared, and what Defences expected from Enemies or Allies abroad.

'Tis certain, That ſo advantageous a Scituation as that of his Majeſties Dominions in theſe Iſlands of Great *Britain* and *Ireland*, makes any forreign conſideration leſs important to us, than to any other Nation; Becauſe the Numbers and Native courage of our men, with the ſtrength of our Shipping, have for many ages paſt (and ſtill for ought we yet know) made us a match for the greateſt of our Neighbours at Land; and an overmatch for the ſtrongeſt of them at Sea: Whereas whoever hurts us without our own Arms, muſt be able to maſter us in both thoſe Elements. Yet in regard there are the names of ſeveral Conqueſts remaining ſtill upon Record

cord (though all of them the meer effects of our own diviſions or invitations); when Trade is grown the deſigne of all Nations in *Europe*, that are poſſeſt of any Maritime Provinces, as being the onely unexhauſted Mine, and out of whoſe Treaſures all greatneſs at Sea naturally ariſes: When inſtead of a King of *France* ſurrounded and bearded by Dukes of *Britany* and *Burgundy*, as well as our own poſſeſſions in *Normandy* and *Guienne*; inſtead of a Count of *Flanders* or *Holland*, who ſerved for no more, than like the ſmaller Weights to make the Ballance ſometimes a little even in the greater Scales of the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *German* Powers; We now behold in *France* the greateſt Land-forces that perhaps have ever been known under the Command of any Chriſtian Prince; And in the United Provinces, the greateſt numbers both of Ships and Mariners that were ever yet heard of under any State in the World; and which have hitherto been onely awed by the ſtrength of our Oak, the Art of our Shipwrights, and chiefly by the

invincible hearts of our Seamen. When the proſpect of theſe two Powers brings us to conſider, that any firm conjunction of them, either by Confederacy or the ſubmiſſion of *Holland*, will prove the neareſt approach that was ever made to our ruine and ſervitude: It may perhaps import us in this calm we enjoy, to hearken a little more than we have done of late, to the Storms that are now raiſing abroad; and by the beſt Perſpectives we can finde, to diſcover from what Coaſt they break, what Courſe they are like to hold, how much we can lie in their danger, and whether the Shelter expected from us by our Neighbours, will be onely a ſtrain of Generoſity and Humanity, or the beſt proviſion we can make hereafter for our own ſafety.

Thoſe Countreys in whoſe Actions or Intereſts we have at any time concerned our ſelves, have been the Empire, *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the *Low-Countries*, in the two ſeveral bodies uſually diſtinguiſhed by the Names of *Flanders* and *Holland*. For with *Poland* we have never gone fur-

further, than our good Wiſhes towards their defence againſt the *Turk*; Nor with *Italy*, than the Offices of Ceremony, or Intereſts of Traffique; unleſs ſometimes ſome ſhort Negotiation that ſerved the preſent turn to ſtop the aſpiring growth of either the *French* or *Spaniſh* greatneſs in thoſe as well as nearer parts.

THE Forreign Intereſts of the Empire are the defence of the Eaſtern parts againſt the *Turk*, and the preſervation of the Weſtern Circles againſt the growth of *France*. The Domeſtique are the limited conſtitution of the Imperial Power, and the balance of the ſeveral free Princes and States of the Empire among themſelves. The two laſt have raiſed no duſt ſince the Peace of *Munſter*; which ſeems chiefly occaſioned by the *Swedes* coming in to be a Member of the Empire, upon the ſhare then yielded to him in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*. Theſe give him an immediate entrance into the heart of *Germany*, where the Native poverty of his own Countrey makes him conſidered as ſtill upon the wing,

and ready to ſtoop at the firſt Quarry he can meet with upon any diviſions in the Empire; ſo as there ſeems a general reſolution not to furniſh him with ſuch occaſions. Their defence againſt the *Turk* will be provided and purſued by Common Inclinations and Forces, unleſs thoſe Princes of the Weſtern Circles ſhould at the ſame time be buſied in ſome nearer danger from *France*. But if the Grand Viſier be ſo great a man as he is reputed in Politicks as well as Arms, he will never conſent by an Invaſion of *Hungary*, to make way for the advance of the *French* Progreſs into the Empire, which a Conqueſt of the *Low-Countries* would make eaſie and obvious: And ſo great acceſſions (with others that would lye fair and open in the *Spaniſh* Provinces upon the Mediterranean) would make *France* a formidable Power to the *Turk* himſelf, and greater than I ſuppoſe he deſires to ſee any in *Chriſtendom*. So that it ſeems not improbable, that the preſent Peace between the *Emperour* and the *Turk*, may laſt longer than is generally calculated by the Fears or Deſires

of thoſe who are moſt concerned in it.

In the preſervation of the Weſtern Circles (eſpecially that of *Burgundy* and the *Rhine*) againſt the Progreſs of the *French* Greatneſs, the Diſpoſitions, if not Intereſts of the ſeveral Members of the Empire, ſeem much more divided. The Emperour himſelf is firm in reſolving it, becauſe he has nothing to fear ſo much as the Power and Ambition of *France*, in regard of their Common Pretenſions to *Spain* after the young King's death, and a Jealouſie of the Empire it ſelf after a further courſe of Succeſs: But he will be faint in any execution of ſuch a Counſel, unleſs ſpirited by the unanimous Decrees of a general Dyet; from his own diſpoſitions, which are thought rather Generous and Juſt, than Ambitious and Enterprizing; from the influence of the *Jeſuites* in that Court, who are obſerved to grow generally *French*, as they were *Spaniſh* in the laſt Age; from the fear of the *Turks*, who are ſtill like a Cloud that hangs over his Head; And from a jealouſie of *Sweden* joyning abſolutely with *France*,

which might ſhare a great part of the Empire between them.

The Elector of *Saxony* would fall intirely into the Intereſts of the Emperour in this point, as a Prince that is a true *German*, loves the liberty of the Empire; foreſees, that if it ſhould fall into the *French*'s hands, all the Princes would grow little Companions to what they are, or return to be the ſeveral Officers of his Court; as they were in the unlimited greatneſs of ſome Ancient Emperours. Beſides, his diſtance from *France*, though it does not inſtruct him to think wiſer than other Princes, yet it helps him to ſpeak boldlier what he thinks upon theſe Conjunctures.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* and Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, and at leaſt two of the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, are in their Diſpoſitions and Judgements upon the ſame Intereſts; But will be influenced and awed by *Sweden*, whoſe ill Talent will be ſtill ſuſpected to *Brandenburgh*, upon the differences in *Pruſſia*; and to *Lunenburgh*, upon the late diſappointment at *Bremen*.

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The Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* have the ſame Inclinations; but lying at the mercy of *France*, in ſo near and ſo imperious a Neighbourhood, they will take no Meaſures wherein they may not ſee their own ſafety provided for, as well as that of the Empire; Wherein no Prince has greater reputation of Prudence and Caution, than the Biſhop of *Mentz*.

The Elector *Palatine*, either upon remainders of the ancient Leagues with *France*, or quarrels with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, has been thought inclined to the *French*; But, as a wiſe Prince, will be found generally in the true Intereſts of the Empire as far as the ſeat of his Countrey will give him leave, which in a War will be ſo much expoſed.

The Elector of *Bavaria* has been eſteemed wholly in the *French* Intereſts ſince the Treaty of *Munſter*; but by what tyes or motives, has not fallen under my obſervation, in regard of the diſtance of his Countrey, and ſmall Commerce out of the limits of the Empire.

The

The Elector of *Colen* is a perſon of much natural Goodneſs and Candour, but of Age and Infirmities, and whom Devotion and Chymiſtry have ſhared between them, and in a manner removed from the Affairs of his State; which have been long and entirely devolved upon the Biſhop of *Strasburgh*; a man buſie, and always in motion or intrigue: But for the reſt, whether upon future Ambition, or preſent Advantages, eſteemed to be perfectly in the *French* Intereſts; ſo as whatever uſe can be made by *France* of that Electors Name or Countrey, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the devotion of that Crown.

The Duke of *Nieuburgh* is in his perſon and meen, rather like an *Italian* than a *German*; and ſhould be ſo in his diſpoſition, by playing the Game of an *Italian* Prince; In declaring no Partialities, provoking no Enemies, and living more retired than the other Princes of his Countrey; Having never ſhewed any ambition, but for the Crown of *Poland*, which deſigne helpt to inſpire him with great Compliance to-

towards all his Neighbours, and other Princes, who were able to do him good or ill offices in that point. But the failing of it, was thought to have ſomething diſobliged him from *France* (upon whoſe aſſiſtance he reckoned) and has ſunk him in a debt, which he will hardly recover.

The Biſhop of *Munſter* is made onely conſiderable by his Scituation, which lyes the fitteſt of all others to invade *Holland:* And by the diſpoſitions of this man, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raiſe a Name in the world: An old implacable hatred to the *Dutch*, upon their intelligence with his chief Town of *Munſter*; Their Uſurpation (as he pretends) of *Borkloe*, and ſome other ſmall places in his Countrey; Their protection of the Counteſs of *Benthem*; and the hopes of ſharing *Overyſſel* or *Friezland*, if ever their ſpoyls come to be divided, make him a certain Friend to what Prince ſoever is Enemy to them, and will furniſh him with men or money enough to appear in the head of an Army againſt them.

The

The general Intereſt that the ſeveral Princes of the Empire have with us, is grounded wholly upon the eſteem of His Majeſty's Power, and the veneration of his Name; which is ſo great amongſt them, That moſt of them are reſolved in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs in *Chriſtendom*, to underſtand perfectly His Language, before they ſpeak their own.

THE Government of *Sweden* is eſteemed ſteady and wiſe, as their people warlike and numerous. The digeſtion of their Counſels is made in a Senate conſiſting of forty Counſellors, who are generally the greateſt men of the Kingdom in Office, Eſtates, or Abilities; and who have moſt of them been Commanders in the *German* Wars, or are ſo in the preſent Militia; which makes their Counſels generally Warlike and Ambitious, though ſomething tempered by the Minority of their King. This has turned them, for ſome years ſince their laſt King's death, rather to make advantages by the name and reputation of their Alliances, than by the appearance of their Arms. But

if

if their King grow a Man, and of Martial Thoughts, as may be preſaged from ſo great a Father, we may ſee great Actions and Revolutions grow again out of this Northern Climate. For the Names of *Goth* and *Vandal*, and their famous Succeſſes both in *Poland* and *Germany* this laſt Age, inſpire them with great Thoughts; and the Bodies and Courages of their common men, as well as the Prudence and Conduct of their great Officers, ſeem to have framed them for great undertakings. Beſides their Application of late years to Trade, has much increaſt their Shipping and Seamen (which they found to be their Weak-ſide in their laſt Attempts). All theſe may in time make way for their great deſigne, which is, the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea by the Conqueſt of *Denmark*. This was about the Year 59, wreſted out of their hands by the *Dutch* Aſſiſtances, and can hardly eſcape them, if ever that Commonwealth ſhould be broken. And if they arrive once at this point, there will grow a Power in that rough Climate, which both at Land and Sea may equal moſt others that

are now in *Chriſtendom*; by being Maſters of ſuch numbers of ſtrong and valiant men, as well as of all the Naval Stores that furniſh the World.

They have a nearer proſpect upon the City of *Bremen*; by the addition whereof to the Biſhoprick already in their poſſeſſion, They deſigne to lay a great foundation both of Trade and Strength in the nearer parts of *Germany*.

Their next Intereſt ſeems to be a long knocking War in the Empire, or the *Low-Countries*; which will make them courted by all, till they think fit to declare; and then will bring them to a ſhare in the Game: and thoſe often go away with the greateſt, who bring in leaſt when the Stake begins. The neglects of *France* ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, and the late Courtſhip of *Spain*, ſeem to have left them open for the faireſt offer from either of thoſe Crowns: But rather inclined to *Spain*, which has ſtill the ſureſt Fonds of Treaſure (if they could fall into good method or direction) and to whom they are more neceſſary

than

than to *France*, which has out-grown almoſt all meaſures with their Neighbours. They have a peek to *Holland* ſomething in ſhew, but more at heart; as lying croſs to their three deſigns; the Dominion of the *Baltick*, their Acquiſition of *Bremen*, and a War in the upper or lower *Germany*. And they are ſo wiſe a State as to be found commonly in their Intereſt; which for theſe reaſons, is either an abſolute breaking, or a great weakening of that Commonwealth. Beſides, they eſteemed themſelves at leaſt neglected by them in the late Negotiation of the Tripple Alliance, wherein they expected conſtant Subſidies in the time of Peace, from *Spain* and *Holland*, to engage them in the defence of all thoſe Provinces againſt the threatning power of *France*.

An old friendſhip to our Nation, and Alliance, proceeding from a long conjunction of Intereſts, beſides the neceſſity of keeping well with one of the greateſt Maritime Powers, will (as may be conjectured) perſwade them to follow His Majeſties meaſures the cloſeſt and furtheſt of any State in *Europe*.

Europe. This gave them the first de-ſigne of entring into the Tripple Al-liance ; And into the Commerce with *Spain* in the year 68; And their re-ſolution of keeping pace with His Majeſty in both thoſe points, as well as the conſequences of them : Which they will do, unleſs the preſent Scene ſhould wholly change, and open new Councels and Intereſts not yet thought of in the world.

THE Kingdom of *Denmark* ſeems leſs conſiderable than their Neighbour-Crown, From a fainter Spirit which appears of late in their People, and in their Government it ſelf; as well as a great inequality of number in their Forces both at Sea and Land: For the laſt change of their Government, from Elective to Hereditary, has made it ſeem hither-to of leſs Force, and unfitter for Action abroad. As all great Changes brought about by Force or Addreſs in an old Conſtitution of Government (rooted in the Hearts and Cuſtoms of the peo-ple) though they may in time prove an encreaſe of Strength and Great-neſs

neſs (when fallen into Method, and grown eaſie by Uſe); Yet for many years they muſt needs weaken it, by the diviſions and diſtractions of mens minds, and diſcontents of their humors; and ſo turn the Counſels upon Deſigns within, deſiſting from any without; And advantages upon Enemies, muſt give way to thoſe upon Subjects. So as the breaking down an old frame of Government, and erecting a new, ſeems like the cutting down an old Oak (becauſe the fruit decays, and the branches grow thin), and planting a young one in the room. 'Tis true, the Son or Grandſon (if it proſpers) may enjoy the ſhade and the maſte; but the Planter, beſides the pleaſure of Imagination, has no other benefit to recompence the pains of Setting and Digging, the care of Watering and Pruning, the fears of every Storm and every Drought: And 'tis well, if he eſcapes a blow from the fall of the old Tree, or its Boughs, as they are lopt off.

The Change in *Denmark* was the ſafer, by having to deal with a ſoft eaſie people, and with Nobles grown

to have ſmall power or intereſt amongſt them, and of whom many were gained by the Crown. Beſides that nothing ſeemed to concern Property in the change of Succeſſive for Elective. And the example of all Chriſtian Crowns (beſides that of *Poland*) made way for it: and yet it is certain, that *Denmark* has continued ever ſince weak and unſpirited, bent onely upon ſafety, and enjoying the Revenues of the *Sound* (which are the chief belonging to that Crown). So as their great Intereſt is their defence againſt *Sweden*; And for the reſt, a general Peace, by which Traffique encreaſing, they may come in for a ſhare, and ſee their Cuſtoms grow in the *Sound* and *Norway*. They reckon'd chiefly upon their ſupport from *Holland*, till ſeeing them fall into cloſer meaſures with Us and *Sweden*, upon the Tripple Alliance, They have tacked ſome points nearer *France*; and the rather, becauſe of the unkindneſs grown in the laſt *Dutch* War, between us and them. Yet they have it at heart, that *Holland* has ever uſed them inſolently, if not ſcornfully, in the whole courſe

of

of their Treaties and Alliances, as well as the differences between them about the payments of the *Sound*; And will be ever ready and reſolute in the defence of *Hamborough*, whenever the *Danes* ſhall have ſtrength and heart enough to attaque it; which ſeems the chief Ambition they have left them abroad.

THE Crown of *Spain* was in all *Philip* the Second's time lookt upon as both the terror and defence of *Chriſtendom*; No Monarchy having ever graſped at ſo great an Empire there, and at the ſame time purſued an open War againſt ſo great a power as the *Turks*. This greatneſs was grown up by the Union of the Houſes of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, of that of *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, with that of *Naples* and *Sicily*; By the acceſſion or conqueſt of *Portugal*; By that of the *Indies* (when their Mines bled freſh, as they did many years after their firſt opening); By the number of brave Troops and Leaders, which were raiſed and made by the various and continual Wars of *Charles*

the Fifth; But chiefly by the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of three great Princes, *Ferdinand*, *Charles*, and *Philip*: Which can never fail of raiſing a ſmall Kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary of bringing down a great one to a ſmall. But whoever meaſures the Crown of *Spain* now, by the Scale of that Age, may fancy a man of Fourſcore, by a Picture drawn of him at Thirty; 'Tis like a great old Tree which has loſt its Branches and Leaves, *Et trunco non frondibus efficit unbram.* Though no man knows, whether out of this old Root a Sucker may not ſpring, that with a little ſhelter at firſt, and good ſeaſons, may in time prove a mighty Tree: for there ſeems ſtill to remain ſtrength and ſap in the Root to furniſh a fair growth, though not in proportion to the firſt. Theſe decays have been occaſioned by ſo long a War with *Holland* (ſupported by all the Neighbours, who envied or feared the greatneſs of *Spain*); By the exhauſting in a great degree of their *Indian* Mines; By that of their Natives to furniſh the *Indian* Conqueſts, and ſecure all their Provinces both in

Italy

Italy and *Flanders*; But moſt of all, by two Succeſſions (which we may at leaſt call) of unactive Princes, And the want of any great Miniſtry to repair either them, or the Minority of this King, in which they ended. Unleſs this Crown out-grow its preſent weakneſs, by ſome great Spirit riſing up at the head of the Monarchy, who ſhall digeſt their Councels, reform the vaſt and impertinent profuſions of their Treaſures by ſuppreſſing all unneceſſary Penſions and Expences, And reſtore the vigor of their Nation by Martial deſigns and examples; We may reckon the Intereſt of *Spain* to lye wholly in the preſervation and defence of *Flanders* from *France*, of *Sicily* from the *Turks*, and of their *Indies* from Us. That of *Sicily* ſeems more remote, becauſe both *Hungary* and *Poland* is a nearer Game for the *Turk*, And will not ſo generally alarm or unite the Chriſtian Princes, as the Invaſion of *Sicily*, wherein *France* as well as *Italy* is ſo near concerned. The jealouſie of their *Indies* has been much nearer them ſince our poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*; And akes at

heart upon every fit which the desperate Sallies of our Privateers there bring upon them. But they hope to make fair weather in those Seas, by opening to us some advantages of Trade there, And by a Conjunction of Interests in *Europe*, which they think the greatness of *France* makes as necessary to us as to them.

Their quarrel to *France* by a course of almost continual Wars ever since *Charles* the Fifth's time, by the late pretensions to *Flanders*, set on foot by *France* since the death of their last King, and pursued by the late Invasion (which the *Spaniards* pretend to have been against all Faith, as well as Right) seems to be grown wholly incurable, Though dissembled by the sense of their own weakness, which makes them rather willing to deceive themselves with a Peace that they know must fail them, than break out into a War they fear must ruine them, without the assistance of their Neighbours. And this they hope some breach of the Peace at *Aix* on the *French* side, or other accidents, may at one time or other engage for them. And though

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as they ſtand ſingle, their preſent Intereſt is but bare defence, and wearing out their Kings Minority without further loſſes; Yet a greater Intereſt, and far more at heart, Is a War with *France* in Conjunction with the Tripple-Alliance, or at leaſt with Us and *Holland*. For though the Peace holds, Yet while *France* continues ſo great Forces and Deſigns on foot, the preſervation of *Flanders* will coſt *Spain* 200 *m.* pounds a year, beſides the Revenues of the Countrey. And what is left them in thoſe Provinces, remains ſo lockt and interwoven with the laſt *French* Conqueſts, that upon the firſt breach of a War, It is all indangered; and indeed cannot be any ways ſecured, but by a ſtrong diverſion, which may imploy the greateſt part of the *French* Forces in ſome other places. Theſe regards, and that of being hardly uſed (as they conceive) by Us and *Holland*, in the Peace of *Aix*, which forced them to quit ſo much of their Countrey to *France*, and of their money to *Sweden*, Have raiſed up a party in their Council, that would make and ſecure the beſt Peace they

can with *France*, by a Ceſſion of *Flanders* to that Crown in exchange for other Provinces towards *Spain*, and of ſome other pretenſions. But this will not be carried in a Minority of their King; at leaſt without greater fears of a ſudden Invaſion from *France*, and greater deſpairs of help from us. Becauſe whenever they quit *Flanders*, they muſt be content to ſhut themſelves up within their Mountains, and ſignifie nothing more in the Affairs of *Europe*. Nor could they perhaps long be ſafe either in *Spain* or *Italy*, if they were there to ſuſtain all the Forces of *France*, without the great diverſion they have always made by *Flanders*; out of which, whenever they are Maſters of the field, they march in four or five days up into the very Iſle of *France*.

To compaſs theſe two Intereſts either of defence or a war in Confederacy, they would fain engage *Sweden*; but will endanger this Aim, by the fear of venturing their money before the Game begins. They reckon themſelves ſure of *Holland* as far as their defence, but know, they will never

never be brought to begin a War with *France*. And the old rancours between *Spaniard* and *Dutch*, are not yet enough worn out of the diſpoſitions of the People or the Governments, to make room for ſuch an abſolute turn. Their great hope is in *England*, where their inclination carries them as well as their Intereſt. Beſides, they think our old as well as freſh quarrels with *France*, and the jealouſie of their preſent growth, will temper us for their turn at one time or other, ſo that their meaſures will ever be fair with us; But no more towards preſerving their Peace, becauſe they think our Intereſt as well as our Treaties will be enough to engage us ſo far, without other motives. Though to heed a War againſt *France*, wherein both *Sweden* and *Holland* would (as they think) follow our paces; There is no advantage which the Crown of *Spain* could make us in Trade, nor money they could ſpare from their own neceſſities (in the ſhare of the quarrel) which they would not willingly furniſh us, and truſt to the events of a War how uncertain ſoever.

THE

THE State of *Holland*, in point both of riches and ſtrength, is the moſt prodigious growth that has been ſeen in the world; if we reckon it from their Peace with *Spain*; before which time, though their Forces were great both at Land and Sea, yet they were kept down by too violent exerciſe; And that Government could not be ſaid to ſtand upon its own legs, Leaning always on their Neighbours, who were willing to ſupport them againſt *Spain*, and feared nothing from a State ſo narrow in compaſs of Land, and ſo weak in Native Subjects, That the ſtrength of their Armies has ever been made up of forreign Troops. But ſince that time, What with the benefit of their Scituation, and Orders of their Government, The Conduct of their Miniſters (driving on ſteddy and publick Intereſts), The Art, Induſtry, and Parſimony of their people; All conſpiring to derive almoſt the Trade of the whole World into their Circle, (while their Neighbours were taken up either in Civil or Forreign Wars) They have grown ſo con-

conſiderable in the World, that for many years they have treated upon an equal Foot with all the great Princes of *Europe*, and concluded no Negotiation without advantage: And in the laſt War with Us and *Munſter*, were able at the ſame time to bring above a hundred men of War to Sea, and maintain threeſcore and ten thouſand men at Land. Beſides, the Eſtabliſhment or Conqueſts of their Companies in the *Eaſt-Indies*, have in a manner erected another ſubordinate Commonwealth in thoſe parts; Where upon occaſion they have armed five and forty men of War, and thirty thouſand Land-men, by the modeſteſt computations. Yet the frame of this State (as of moſt great Machines made for reſt and not for motion) is abſolutely incapable of making any conſiderable enlargements or conqueſts upon their neighbours: Which is evident to all that know their Conſtitutions; But needs no other argument beſides their want of Native Subjects to manage any ſuch attempts; What men they can ſpare, being drawn ſo wholly into their trade, and their *Eaſt-Indies*,

That

That they cannot ſo much as furniſh a Colony for *Surinam*, proportioned to the ſafety and plantation of that place: And no nation ever made and held a Conqueſt by Mercenary Arms. So that the wounds and fears they can give their neighbours, conſiſts in point of Trade; In injuries or inſolencies at Sea; In falling with great weight into a ballance with other Princes; In protecting their Rebels or Fugitives, And in an arrogant way of treating with other Princes and States; a quality natural to men bred in popular Governments, and derived of late years from the great ſucceſſes of theirs under the preſent Miniſtry.

It may be laid (I believe) for a Maxim, That no wiſe State will ever begin a War, unleſs it be upon deſigns of Conqueſts, or neceſſity of Defence; For all other Wars ſerve onely to exhauſt Forces and Treaſure, and end in untoward Peace, patcht up out of weakneſs or wearineſs of the parties: Therefore the *Hollanders*, unleſs invaded either at home or in *Flanders* (which they eſteem now the ſame caſe, if it comes from *France*),

can

can have no intereſt to offer at a War; But find their greateſt in continuing their courſe of Traffique uninterrupted, and enjoying the advantages which in that point their induſtry and addreſs will gain them from all their Neighbours. And for theſe ends they will endeavour to preſerve the Peace now in being, And bandy by Leagues and Negotiations againſt any from whom they ſhall fear a breach of it.

They will ever ſeek to preſerve themſelves by an Alliance with *England* againſt *France*, and by that of *France* againſt *England*, as they did formerly by both againſt *Spain*. And they will fall into all Conjunctures which may ſerve to ballance in ſome meaſure the two leſſer Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as the greater of *France* and *Spain*. But becauſe they believe that good Arms are as neceſſary to keep Peace as to make War; They will always be Great in their preparations of that kind, eſpecially at Sea; By which they may, in all caſes, advance or ſecure their Trade, And upon a War with *France*, make

up

up that way the weakneſs of their Land-Forces, Which a long ruſt of Peace, and a ſwarm of Officers preferred by the Magiſtrates in favour of their relations, has brought to be very diſproportioned in Force to what they are in Number. They eſteem themſelves ſecure from *Spain* and their *German* Neighbours (upon what has been ſaid of the preſent condition of thoſe Princes): And from Us, not ſo much upon our late Treaties with them, as upon what they take to be the common Intereſt, which they think a Nation can never run over, and believe is the oppoſing any further progreſs of the *French* greatneſs. Their only danger they apprehend, is from *France*, and that not immediately to themſelves, but to *Flanders*; where any Flame would ſoon ſcorch them, and conſume them, if not quenched in time. But in regard of the weakneſs of *Spain*, The ſlow motions of the *Empire*, The different paces among the Princes of it, And the diſtance of *Sweden*; They eſteem the Peace of *Chriſtendom* to depend wholly upon His Majeſty, as well as the ſafety of

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Flanders, in case of a War. For they think *France* will be dared, and never take wing, while they see such a Naval Power as Ours and the *Dutch* hovering about all their Coasts; And so many other Princes ready to fall in, whenever His Majesty declares, united by the same jealousies or dangers. And if they should open a War, they foresee the consumption which *France* must fall into by the stop of their Wine, Salts, and other Commodities (now in a manner wholly taken off by our two Nations): And the head that may be made against their Forces in the Field it self, by a Body of *English* Infantry (so much renowned abroad). So as though their first Interest be to continue the Peace, while it may be done with any safety; yet when that fails, their next is, to open a War in favour of *Spain*, and conjunction with us. And the greatest they have in the world, is to preserve and encrease their Alliance with us; Which will make them follow our measures absolutely in all the present Conjunctures.

THE

THE Crown of *France*, conſidered in the extent of Countrey, in the number of People, in the riches of Commodities, in the Revenues of the King, the greatneſs of the Land-Forces now on foot, and the growth of thoſe at Sea (within theſe two years paſt), the number and bravery of their Officers, the conduct of their Miniſters, and chiefly in the Genius of their preſent King; a Prince of great aſpiring thoughts, unwearied application to whatever is in purſuit, ſevere in the inſtitution and preſervation of Order and Diſcipline; In the main, a Manager of his Treaſure, and yet bountiful from his own motions, wherever he intends the marks of Favour, and diſcerns particular Merit; To this, in the flower of his Age, at the head of all his Armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his attempts, either at home or abroad: I ſay, conſidered in all theſe circumſtances, *France* may appear to be deſigned for greater Atchievements and Empires, than have been ſeen in Chriſtendome ſince that of *Charlemaign*.

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The preſent greatneſs of this Crown, may be chiefly derived from the fortune it has had of two great Miniſters (*Richelieu* and *Mazarine*) ſucceeding one another, between two great Kings, *Henry* the Fourth and this preſent Prince; ſo as during the courſe of one unactive life, and of a long Minority, that Crown gained a great deal of ground both at home and abroad, inſtead of loſing it; Which is the common fate of Kingdoms upon thoſe occaſions.

The latter greatneſs of this Crown began in the time of *Lewis* the 11th, by the Spoils of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and the diviſions of the Princes, which gave that King the heart of attempting to bring the Government (as he call'd it) *Hors de Page*; being before controuled by their Princes, and reſtrained by their States; and in point of Revenue, kept within the bounds of the Kings Demeſnes, and the Subjects voluntary Contributions.

'Tis not here neceſſary to obſerve, by what difficulties and dangers to the Crown, this deſigne of *Lewis* was purſued

ſued by many ſucceeding Kings, like a great Stone forced up a Hill, and upon every ſlacking of either ſtrength or care, rolling a great way back, often to the very bottom of the Hill, and ſometimes with the deſtruction of thoſe that forced it on, till the time of Cardinal *Richelieu*. It was in this great Miniſter moſt to be admired, that finding the Regency ſhaken by the Factions of ſo many great ones within, and awed by the terrour of the *Spaniſh* greatneſs without; He durſt reſolve to look them both in the face, and begin a War, by the courſe of which for ſo many years (being purſued by *Mazarine* till the year 60), the Crown of *France* grew to be powerfully armed; The Peaſants were accuſtomed to Payments (which could have ſeemed neceſſary only by a War, and which none but a ſucceſsful one could have helpt to digeſt) and grew heartleſs as they grew poor. The Princes were ſometimes ſatisfied with Commands of the Army, ſometimes mortified and ſuppreſt by the abſoluteneſs or addreſſes of the Miniſtry; The moſt boiling bloud of the Nobility and Gentry was let out in ſo

long

long a War, or wasted with Age and Exercise: At last it ended at the *Pirenees* in a Peace, and a Match so advantageous to *France*, as the reputation of them contributed much to the Authority of the young King, who bred up in the Councils, and served by the tried Instruments of the former Ministry, But most of all advantaged by his own personal Qualities, fit to make him obeyed, grew absolute Master of the Factions of the great men, as well as the Purses of his People. In the beginning of his Minority, the two disputes, with the Pope about the outrage of the *Corsi*, and with the King of *Spain* about the encounter at *London*, between the Count *D'Estrades*, and the Baron *de Batteville* (Embassadors from those Crowns), both carried so high, and both ended so honourably, and to the very will of *France*, were enough to give a young Prince the humour and appetite of trying yet further what there was could oppose him. The Invasion and easie Success in *Flanders*, fed his Glory, and increast the reputation of his Power; Till this career was interrupted by the Peace at first, then the

Alliances between us and *Holland*, and afterwards the Peace at *Aix*, and the Tripple Alliance (contracted purpoſely to ſecure it); ſince which time the Counſels of that Court have turned wholly from Action to Negotiation; of which no man can yet ſee the ſucceſs, nor judge whether it may not be more proſperous to them than that of their Arms.

If there were any certain heighth where the flights of Power and Ambition uſe to end, one might imagine, that the Intereſt of *France* were but to conſerve its preſent Greatneſs, ſo feared by its Neighbours, and ſo glorious in the world: But beſides that the motions and deſires of humane mindes are endleſs, It may perhaps be neceſſary for *France* (from reſpects within) to have ſome War or other in purſuit abroad, which may amuſe the Nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their condition at home, hard and uneaſie to all but ſuch as are in charge, or in pay from the Court. I do not ſay miſerable (the term uſually given it) becauſe no condition is ſo, but to him that eſteems it ſo; and if a *Paiſan* of

France

France thinks of no more, than his coarſe Bread and his Onions, his Canvaſs Clothes and Wooden Shoes; labours contentedly on Working-days, and dances or plays merrily on Holy-days: He may, for ought I know, live as well as a Boor of *Holland*, who is either weary of his very eaſe, or whoſe cares of growing ſtill richer and richer, waſte his life in toils at Land, or dangers at Sea; and perhaps fool him ſo far, as to make him enjoy leſs of all kinde in his Riches, than t'other in his Poverty.

But to leave ſtrains of Philoſophy, which are ill mingled with Diſcourſes of Intereſt: The Common People of *France* are as little conſiderable in the Government, as the Children; ſo that the Nobles and the Soldiers may in a manner be eſteemed the Nation; Whoſe Intereſt and Hopes carry them all to War: And whatever is the general humour and bent of a Nation, ought ever to be much conſidered by a State, which can hardly miſcarry in the purſuit of it. Beſides, the perſonal Diſpoſitions of the King, Active and Aſpiring, and many circumſtances in the Govern-

ment (fitter for perſons of that Court, than Strangers to pretend the knowledg of); The continual increaſe of their Forces in time of Peace, and their freſh Invaſion of *Lorrain*, are enough to perſwade moſt men, that the deſigne of this Crown is a War, whenever they can open it with a proſpect of ſucceeding to purpoſe; For their Counſels are too wiſe to venture much upon the hopes of little gains. What the aims of *France* are in this kinde, I will not pretend to judge by common fears, or the Schemes of men too ingeniouſly politique: Nor perhaps can any one tell any more than a man that leaps into the water in ſtrength and vigour, and with pleaſure, can ſay how far he will ſwim; which will be, till he is ſtopt by currents or accidents, or grows weary, or has a minde to do ſomething elſe. One may judg, that if *France* will begin a War, it would be naturally upon *Flanders*, unleſs diſcouraged by the ſame Alliances which prevailed with them to end the laſt; ſo as the plain preſent Intereſt of *France*, is one way or other to break the confidence or the force of that Tripple Alliance, which

which alone ſeems to bound their proſpect, which way ſoever they look; And if once laid open, they have the world and their Fortunes before them; which is enough for a Crown that has ſo much Force, and ſo much Conduct to manage them. Having little hopes of breaking this on the *Dutch* ſide, and knowing the *Swede* will follow our meaſures in it, we may be ſure of all addreſs, and all the Courtſhip that can any way be infuſed. And in ſhort, all ſorts of endeavours and applications that can be uſed, to break it on ours. Which ſeems to be the preſent Game of that Crown, and that they will begin no other till they ſee an end of this.

Flanders cannot be conſidered diſtinct from *Spain* in the Government, but may in the inclinations of the people, which muſt ever have a great influence upon it. They are the beſt Subjects in the World, but may have ſome reaſon to be weary of being the Theater of almoſt perpetual Wars; and where thoſe two mighty Crowns have fought ſo many Battels,

and ſeem to have ſtill ſo many more to fight, If the Neighbour-aſſiſtances fall in to balance their powers, now ſo unequally matched. Therefore the Intereſt of the Inhabitants of thoſe *Spaniſh* Provinces ſeems to be, either that the preſent Peace ſhould be kept inviolate by the ſtrength and reputation of the preſent Alliances; Or elſe, that a War when it opens ſhould have a ſudden iſſue; Which might be expected, either from the *French* Conqueſt, or a Propoſition of Exchange. They are naturally averſe from the *French* Government, as they are inclined to the *Spaniſh*; but have ſo little kindneſs for the *Hollanders*, or eſteem of their Land-forces, that they hardly either hope or care to be ſaved by their aſſiſtances. So as the reputation of His Majeſties Protection and Alliance, is all that can inſpire them with the hopes of a laſting Peace, or the Courage to defend themſelves by a War.

FRom the Survey of all theſe ſeveral Intereſts, and Forces, and Diſpoſitions that compoſe the preſent ſtate of all our Neighbours; It may be natural-

turally and unqueſtionably concluded, That a continuance of the preſent meaſures, The opening of new ones, Or an abſolute revolution of all, depends wholly upon thoſe His Majeſty ſhall take or purſue in this great Conjuncture, wherein He ſeems to be generally allowed for the ſole Arbiter of the Affairs of *Chriſtendom.*

OUR Intereſt abroad muſt lie in one of theſe Points.

Either to preſerve our preſent Alliances, and thereby the Peace of *Chriſtendom* as it now ſtands.

Or to encourage *France* to an Invaſion of *Holland*, with aſſurance of our Neutrality.

Or elſe to joyn with *France* upon the advantages they can offer us, for the ruine of the *Dutch.*

Upon the firſt is to be conſidered, Whether with a longer Peace, the Power of *France* and *Holland*, with ſo great Revenues, and ſuch application as is ſeen in their Governments, will not encreaſe every year out of proportion to what ours will do; The Revenues of *France*, ariſing originally from the vent

vent of their Native Commodities; and those of *Holland* growing wholly out of Trade, and that out of Peace.

Upon the second, Whether *France* will ever resolve upon the Invasion of *Holland*, or *Holland* upon its own resolute defence, without our share in the War; which would otherwise leave us to enjoy the Trade of the World, and thereby to grow vastly both in Strength and Treasures, whilst both these Powers were breaking one another. Or whether the jealousie of such a design in us, would not induce *France* and *Holland*, either before a War, or soon after it begins, to close upon some measures between them to our disadvantage, as We and *Holland* did after the last War, to the disadvantage of *France*.

Upon the last, Whether by the ruine of *Holland*, we can reap as great advantages as *France* (though perhaps greater were necessary to make some equality in our Powers). And to gain a fair prospect of this, it must be considered, whether *Holland* upon its fall would grow an accession to the *French*, or to Us; or live under the Prince of

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Orange as a Soveraign Prince, with our ſupport or protection. Whether *France* would be content with either of theſe laſt; or to ſee us grow abſolute Maſters of the Sea, by the fall or ſubjection of *Holland*, any more than by their Conjunction and Alliance. Whether we could be able to defend the Maritime Provinces, either in our own ſubjection, or in that of the Prince, whilſt *France* remained poſſeſt of all the Outworks of that State (which are their Inland Provinces, their Towns in *Brabant* and upon the *Rhine*); Whether we could on the other ſide hinder the acceſſion of *Holland* to *France*, either as Subjects in a Maritime Province (with great Priviledges and Immunities for continance and encouragement of Trade) or as an inferiour and dependant Ally under their protection. Whether in either of theſe caſes, our Government would have credit enough in *Holland* to invite their Shipping and Traders to come over and ſettle in *England*, and ſo leave thoſe Provinces deſtitute of both. Whether it be poſſible to preſerve *Flanders* after the loſs of *Holland*, or upon the Conqueſt of

thoſe

those Countries by *France*, For us to preserve our peace or good intelligence with that King, Or upon a War to defend our selves, either by our own Forces, or the Alliances of our Neighbours.

But though these Arguments may deserve the most serious deliberations of Ministers at home; yet I know they lie out of the compass of my duty, and are improper for the representations of a man, the course of whose Employments and Thoughts for so long a time has lain wholly abroad.

AN

AN ESSAY UPON THE ORIGINAL and NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.

Written in the Tear 1672.

THE Nature of Man ſeems to be the ſame in all times and places, but varied like their Statures, complexions, and Features, by the force and influence of the ſeveral Climates where they are born and bred; which produce in them by a different mixture of the Humours and Operation

tion of the Air, a different and unequal courſe of Imaginations and Paſſions, and conſequently of diſcourſes and Actions.

Theſe differences incline men to ſeveral Cuſtoms, Educations, Opinions and Laws; which Form and Govern the ſeveral Nations of the World, where they are not interrupted by the violence of ſome Force from without, or ſome Faction within, which like a great blow, or a great Diſeaſe, may either change or deſtroy the very frame of a body; though if it lives to recover ſtrength and vigour, it commonly returns in time to its natural conſtitution, or ſomething near it.

(I ſpeak not of thoſe changes and revolutions of State, or Inſtitutions of Government that are made by the more immediate and evident operation of divine Will and Providence, being the Themes of Divines, and not of common men; and the Subjects of our Faith, not of our Reaſon).

This may be the cauſe that the ſame Countries have generally in all times been uſed to Forms of Government much of a ſort: The ſame Nature ever conti-

continuing under the ſame Climate, and making returns into its old Channel, though ſometimes led out of it by perſwaſions, and ſometimes beaten out by force.

Thus the more Northern, and more Southern Nations (extreams as they ſay ſtill agreeing) have ever lived under ſingle and Arbitrary Dominions; as all the Regions of *Tartary* and *Muſcovy* on the one ſide, and of *Africk* and *India* on the other. While thoſe under the more temperate Climates, eſpecially in *Europe*, have ever been uſed to more moderate Governments, running anciently much into Commonwealths, and of latter ages into Principalities bounded by Laws, which differ leſs in Nature than in Name.

For though the old diſtinctions run otherwiſe, there ſeem to be but two general kindes of Government in the world. The one exerciſed according to the Arbitrary Commands and Will of ſome ſingle Perſon. And the other according to certain Orders or Laws introduced by agreement or cuſtom, and not to be changed without the conſent of many.

But under each of these may fall many more particular kindes, than can be reduced to the common heads of Government received in the Schools. For those of the first sort, differ according to the dispositions and humours of him that Rules, and of them that Obey: As Fevers do according to the temper of the persons, and accidents of the seasons. And those of the other sort, differ according to the quality or number of the persons upon whom is devolved the authority of making, or power of executing Laws.

Nor will any man, that understands the State of *Poland*, and the *United Provinces*, be well able to range them under any particular Names of Government that have been yet invented.

The great Scenes of action, and Subjects of Ancient Story, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, were all divided into small Commonwealths, till swallowed up and made Provinces by that mighty one of *Rome*, together with *Spain*, *Gaule*, and *Germany*. These were before composed of many small Governments, among which the Cities were

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generally under Commonwealths, and the Countreys under ſeveral Princes: Who were Generals in their Wars, but in peace lived without Armies or Guards, or any Inſtruments of Arbitrary Power: And were only chief of their Councils, and of thoſe Aſſemblies by whoſe conſultations, and authority, the great affairs and actions among them were reſolved and enterprized.

Through all theſe Regions ſome of the ſmaller States, but chiefly thoſe of the Cities, fell often under Tyrannies: Which ſpring naturally out of Popular Governments. While the meaner ſort of the people oppreſt, or ill protected by the richer, and greater, give themſelves up to the conduct of ſome one man in chief credit among them; and ſubmit all to his will and diſcretion: either running eaſily from one extream to another, or contented to ſee thoſe they hated and feared before, now in equal condition with themſelves: Or, becauſe a multitude is incapable of framing Orders, though capable of conſerving them: Or that every man comes to find by experience, that confuſion and popular tumults have worſe

effect upon common ſafety than the rankeſt Tyranny. For it is eaſier to pleaſe the humour, and either appeaſe or reſiſt the fury of one ſingle man, than of a multitude. And taking each of them in their extreams, the rage of a Tyrant may be like that of fire, which conſumes what it reaches but by degrees, and devouring one houſe after another; whereas the rage of people is like that of the Sea, which once breaking bounds, overflows a Countrey with that ſuddenneſs and violence, as leaves no hopes either of flying or reſiſting, till with the change of tides or winds it returns of it ſelf.

The force and variety of accidents is ſo great, that it will not perhaps bear reaſoning, or enquiry how it comes about, that ſingle Arbitrary Dominion ſeems to have been natural to *Aſia* and *Africk*, and the other ſort to *Europe*. For though *Carthage* was indeed a Commonwealth in *Africk*, and *Macedon* a Kingdom in *Europe*; yet the firſt was not Native of that Soyl (being a Colony of the *Tyrians*, as there were ſome other ſmall ones of the *Grecians* upon the ſame Coaſts) and

and the King of *Macedon* Governed by Laws, and the consent as well as Councils of the Nobles. Not like the Kings of *Persia*, by humour and will; as appears by the event of their quarrel, while so few Subjects conquered so many Slaves.

Yet one reason may be, that *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy* (which were the Regions of Commonwealths) were planted thick with rich and populous Cities (occasioned by their being so far encompassed with the Sea). And the vein of all rich Cities ever inclines to that kind of Government. Whether it be that where many grow Rich, many grow to power, and are harder to be subjected: Or where men grow to great possessions, they grow more intent upon safety, and therefore desire to be Governed by Laws and Magistrates of their own choice, fearing all Armed and Arbitrary Power: Or that the small compass of Cities makes the ease and convenience of Assemblies and Councils: Or that conversation sharpens mens wits, and makes too many reasoners in matters of Government.

The contrary of all this happens in Countries thin inhabited, and especially in vaſt *Campania's*, ſuch as are extended through *Aſia*, and *Africk*, where there are few Cities, beſides what grow by the reſidence of the Kings or their Governours. The people are poorer, and having little to loſe, have little to care for: and are leſs expoſed to the deſigns of power or violence. The aſſembling of perſons deputed from people at great diſtances one from another, is trouble to them that are ſent, and charge to them that ſend. And where ambition and avarice have made no entrance, the deſire of leaſure is much more natural, than of buſineſs and care: beſides, Men converſing all their lives with the Woods, and the Fields, and the Herds, more than with one another, come to know as little as they deſire. Uſe their Senſes a great deal more than their Reaſons; examine not the nature or the tenure of Power and Authority; find onely they are fit to obey, becauſe they are not fit to Govern. And ſo come to ſubmit to the will of him they found in Power, as they do to the will of Heaven: and conſider

ſider all changes of conditions that happen to them under good or bad Princes, like good or ill Seaſons that happen in the Weather and the Air.

It may be ſaid further, that in the more intemperate Climates, the ſpirits either exhal'd by heat, or compreſt by cold, are rendered faint and ſluggiſh; and by that reaſon the men grow tamer, and fitter for ſervitude. That in more temperate Regions the ſpirits are ſtronger, and more active, whereby men become bolder in the defence or recovery of their liberties.

But all Government is a reſtraint upon liberty; And under all, The Dominion is equally abſolute, where it is in the laſt reſort.

So that when men ſeem to contend for Liberty, it is indeed but for the change of thoſe that rule, or for the forms of Government they have formerly been uſed to; and (being grown weary of the preſent) now begin to regret; though when they enjoyed them, it was not without ſome preſſure and complaint. Nor can it be in the other caſe, that when vaſt numbers of men ſubmit their lives and fortunes ab-

ſolutely to the Will of one, it ſhould be want of heart, but muſt be force of cuſtom, or opinion, the true ground and foundation of all Government, and that which ſubjects Power to Authority. *For Power ariſing from Strength, is always in thoſe that are governed, who are many: But Authority ariſing from opinion, is in thoſe that Govern, who are few.*

This diſtinction is plain in the forms of the old *Roman* State, where Laws were made, and reſolutions taken, *Authoritate Senatus*, and *Juſſu populi.* The Senate were Authors of all Counſels in the State; and what was by them conſulted and agreed, was propoſed to the People: By whom it was enacted, or commanded, becauſe in them was the power to make it be obeyed. But the great opinion which the people had at firſt of the perſons of the Senators, and afterwards of their families (which were called *Patricians*) gained eaſie aſſent to what was thus propoſed; the Authority of the perſons adding great weight to the reaſon of the things. And this went ſo far, that though the choice of all Magiſtrates

giſtrates was wholly in the people, yet for a long courſe of years, they choſe none but *Patricians* into the great Offices of State, either Civil or Military. But when the People began to loſe the general opinion they had of the *Patricians*, or at leaſt ſo far as to believe ſome among themſelves were as able, and fit as theſe, to adviſe the State, and lead their Armies: They then pretended to ſhare with the Senate in the Magiſtracy, and bring in *Plebeians* to the Offices of chiefeſt Power and Dignity. And hereupon began thoſe Seditions which ſo long diſtempered, and at length ruined that State.

AUthority ariſes from the opinion of Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Valour in the perſons who poſſeſs it.

Wiſdom, As that which makes men judg what are the beſt ends, and what the beſt means to attain them; and gives a man advantage among the weak and the ignorant; as ſight among the blind, which is that of Counſel and Direction: This gives Authority to Age among the younger, till theſe begin at certain years to change their

opinion of the old, and of themſelves. This gives it more abſolute to a Pilot at Sea, whom all the paſſengers ſuffer to ſteer them as he pleaſes.

Goodneſs, As that which makes men prefer their Duty and their Promiſe, before their Paſſions, or their Intereſt; and is properly the object of Truſt: In our Language, it goes rather by the name of Honeſty; though what we call an honeſt man, the *Romans* called a good man; and honeſty in their Language, as well as in *French*, rather ſignifies a compoſition of thoſe qualities which generally acquire honour and eſteem to thoſe who poſſeſs them.

Valour, As it gives awe, and promiſes protection to thoſe who want either heart or ſtrength to defend themſelves: This makes the Authority of Men among Women; and that of a Maſter-Buck in a numerous herd, though perhaps not ſtrong enough for any two of them; but the impreſſion of ſingle fear holds when they are all together, by the ignorance of Uniting.

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Eloquence, As it paſſes for a mark of Wiſdom; Beauty of Goodneſs, And Nobility of Valour (which was its original) have likewiſe ever ſome effect upon the opinion of the People; but a very great one when they are really joyned with the qualities they promiſe or reſemble.

There is yet another ſource from which uſually ſprings greater Authority than from all the reſt; which is the opinion of Divine Favour, or deſignation of the perſons, or of the races that Govern. This made the Kings among the Heathens ever derive themſelves, or their Anceſtors, from ſome god; paſſing thereby for Heroes, that is, perſons iſſued from the mixture of divine and humane race, and of a middle nature between gods and men: others joyned the Miter to the Crown, and thereby the reverence of Divine, to the reſpect of Civil Power.

This made the *Caliphs* of *Perſia* and *Egypt*, and the great Emperors of *Arabia*, derive themſelves by ſeveral branches from their great Prophet *Mahomet*: The *Incas* in *Peru* from the Sun: And the *Ottoman* race to be adored

red among the *Turks*, as designed by Heaven for perpetual Empire. And the sacring of the Kings of *France* (as *Loysel* says), is the sign of their Sovereign Priesthood, as well as Kingdom; and in the right thereof they are capable of holding all vacant Benefices of the Church.

Piety, As it is thought a way to the favour of God; and Fortune as it looks like the effect either of that or at least of Prudence and Courage, beget Authority. As likewise splendor of living in great Palaces, with numerous attendance, much observance, and rich habits differing from common men: Both as it seems to be the reward of those Virtues already named, or the effect of Fortune; or as it is a mark of being obeyed by many.

From all these Authority arises, but is by nothing so much strengtheded and confirmed as by custom. For no man easily distrusts the persons, or disputes the things which he and all men that he knows of, have been always bred up to observe and believe; or if he does, he will hardly hope or venture to introduce opinions wherein he knows none

none or few of his minde, and thinks all others will defend thoſe already received; ſo as no man nor party can offer at the change of a Government eſtabliſht, without firſt gaining new Authority by the ſteps already traced out; and in ſome degree debaſing the old, by appearance or impreſſions of contrary qualities in thoſe who before enjoyed it. This induces a general change of opinion concerning the perſon or party like to be obeyed or followed by the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of the people: according to which, the power or weakneſs of each is to be meaſured. So as in effect all Government may be eſteemed to grow ſtrong or weak, as the general opinion of theſe qualities in thoſe that Govern, is ſeen to leſſen or increaſe.

And Power muſt be allowed to follow Authority in all Civil Bodies; as in Natural, the motions of the body follow thoſe of the mind; great numbers ever acting and purſuing what the few (whom they truſt) begin or adviſe.

FRom this Principle, and from the discovery of some natural Authority, may perhaps be deduced a truer original of all Governments among men, than from any Contracts: though these be given us by the great Writers concerning Politicks and Laws. Some of them lay for their foundation, That men are sociable creatures, and naturally disposed to live in numbers and troops together. Others, That they are naturally creatures of prey, and in a state of war one upon another; so as to avoid confusion in the first case, and violence in the other, they found out the necessity of agreeing upon some Orders and Rules, by which every man gives up his common Right for some particular possession, and his power to hurt and spoil others, for the priviledg of not being hurt or spoiled himself. And the agreement upon such Orders, by mutual Contract, with the consent to execute them, by common strength and endeavours, They make to be the rise of all Civil Governments.

I know not whether they consider what it is that makes some creatures sociable,

ciable, and others live and range more alone, or in ſmaller companies; but I ſuppoſe thoſe creatures whoſe natural and neceſſary food is eaſie and plentiful, as Graſs, or Plants, or Fruits (the common product of the earth) are the ſociable creatures, becauſe whereever they go, they uſually finde what they want, and enough for them all, without induſtry or contention. And thoſe live more alone, whoſe food (and therefore prey) is upon other ſenſitive creatures, and ſo not attained without purſuit and violence, and ſeldom in ſuch quantities at once, as to ſatisfy the hunger of great numbers together. Yet this does not hold ſo far, but that Ravens are ſeen in flocks where a Carrion lies, and Wolves in herds to run down a Deer. Nay, they feed quietly together while there is enough for them all: Quarrel onely when it begins to fail; and when 'tis ended, they ſcatter to ſeek out new encounters. Beſides, thoſe called ſociable, quarrel in hunger and in luſt, as well as the others; and the Bull and the Ram appear then as much in fury and war, as the Lyon and the Bear. So that if Mankind muſt

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be ranged to one of theſe ſorts, I know not well to which it will be: and conſidering the great differences of cuſtoms and diſpoſitions in ſeveral men, and even in the ſame men at ſeveral times, I very much doubt they muſt be divided into ſeveral forms. Nor do I know, if men are like ſheep, why they need any Government: or if they are like Wolves, how they can ſuffer it. Nor have I read where the Orders of any State have been agreed on by mutual Contract among great numbers of men, meeting together in that natural ſtate of War, where every man takes himſelf to have equal right to every thing. But often where ſuch Orders have been invented by the Wiſdom, and received by the Authority of ſome one man, under the name of a Lawgiver; And where this has not happened, the original of Government lies as undiſcovered in ſtory, as that of Time. All Nations appearing upon the firſt Records that are left us, under the Authority of Kings, or Princes, or ſome other Magiſtrates.

Beſides, this principle of contract as the original of Government, ſeems calculated

culated for the account given by ſome of the old Poets of the original of Man; whom they raiſe out of the ground by great numbers at a time in perfect Stature and Strength. Whereas if we deduce the ſeveral races of mankind in the ſeveral parts of the World from generation; we muſt imagine the firſt numbers of them who in any place agree upon any civil conſtitutions, to aſſemble not as ſo many ſingle heads, but as ſo many heads of families, whom they repreſent, in the framing any Compact or common accord; and conſequently as perſons who have already an Authority over ſuch numbers as their families are compoſed of.

For if we conſider a Man multiplying his Kind by the birth of many Children, and his Cares by providing even neceſſary food for them, till they are able to do it for themſelves (which happens much later to the generations of men, and makes a much longer dependence of children upon Parents, than we can obſerve among any other creatures): If we conſider not only the cares but the induſtry he is forced to, for

for the neceſſary ſuſtenance of his helpleſs brood, either in gathering the natural fruits, or raiſing thoſe which are purchaſed with labour and toil; if he be forced for ſupply of this ſtock to catch the tamer creatures, and hunt the wilder, ſometimes to exerciſe his courage in defending his little Family, aud fighting with the ſtrong and Savage Beaſts (that would prey upon him, as he does upon the weak and the mild): if we ſuppoſe him diſpoſing with diſcretion and order, whatever he gets, among his Children, according to each of their hunger or need, ſometimes laying up for to morrow, what was more than enough for to day; at other times pinching himſelf, rather than ſuffering any of them ſhould want. And as each of them grows up, and able to ſhare in the common ſupport, teaching him both by leſſon and example, what he is now to do as the Son of this family, and what hereafter as the Father of another; inſtructing them all, what qualities are good, and what are ill for their health and life, or common Society (which will certainly comprehend whatever is generally

nerally eſteemed Virtue or Vice among men) cheriſhing and encouraging diſpoſitions to the good ; disfavouring and puniſhing thoſe to the ill. And laſtly, Among the various accidents of Life , lifting up his eyes to Heaven, when the Earth affords him no relief ; and having recourſe to a higher and a greater nature, whenever he findes the frailty of his own : We muſt needs conclude , that the Children of this Man cannot fail of being bred up with a great opinion of his Wiſdome, his Goodneſs, his Valour, and his Piety. And if they ſee conſtant plenty in the Family , they believe well of his Fortune too.

And from all this muſt naturally ariſe a great paternal Authority, which diſpoſes his Children (at leaſt till the age when they grow Fathers themſelves) to believe what he teaches, to follow what he adviſes, and obey what he commands.

Thus the Father, by a natural Right as well as Authority, becomes a Governour in this little State : and if his life be long, and his generations many (as well as thoſe of his Children) he grows

the Governour or King of a Nation, and is indeed a *Pater patriæ*, as the beſt Kings are, and as all ſhould be; and as thoſe which are not, are yet content to be called. Thus the peculiar compellation of the King in *France*, is by the name of *Sire*, which in their ancient language is nothing elſe but Father, and denotes the Prince to be the Father of the Nation. For a Nation properly ſignifies a great number of Families, derived from the ſame Blood, born in the ſame Countrey, and living under the ſame Government and Civil Conſtitutions: As *Patria* does the land of our Father; and ſo the *Dutch* by expreſſions of deerneſs, inſtead of our Countrey, ſay our *Father-land*. With ſuch Nations we find in Scripture all the Lands of *Judea*, and the adjacent Territories, were planted of old. With ſuch the many ſeveral Provinces of *Greece* and *Italy*, when they began firſt to appear upon the Records of Ancient Story or Tradition. And with ſuch was the main Land of *Gaul* inhabited in the time of *Cæſar*; and *Germany* in that of *Tacitus*. Such were the many Branches of the old *Britiſh* Nation; the

the *Scepts* among the *Iriſh*. And ſuch the infinite variety and numbers of Nations in *Africk* and *America* upon the firſt diſcoveries, diſtinguiſht by their ſeveral names, and living under their ſeveral Kings or Princes, till they came to be ſwallowed up by greater Empires.

Theſe ſeem to have been the natural and original Governments of the World, ſpringing from a tacite deference of many to the Authority of one ſingle Perſon. Under Him (if the Father of the Family or Nation) the elder of his Children comes to acquire a degree of Authority among the younger, by the ſame means the Father did among them; and to ſhare with him in the conſultation and conduct of their common affairs. And this, together with an opinion of Wiſdom from experience, may have brought in the Authority of the Elders, ſo often mentioned among the *Jews*; and in general of aged men, not only in *Sparta* and *Rome*, but all other places in ſome degree, both civil and barbarous. For the names of Lord, *Signior*, *Seigneur*. *Sennor*, in the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spa-*

niſh Languages, ſeem to have at firſt imported onely Elder men, who thereby were grown into Authority among the ſeveral Governments and Nations, which ſeated themſelves in thoſe Countries upon the fall of the *Roman* Empire.

This perhaps brought in vogue that which is called the Authority of the Ancients in matters of opinion, though by a miſtaken ſence: For I ſuppoſe Authority may be reaſonably allowed to the Opinion of ancient men in the preſent Age; but I know not why it ſhould be ſo to thoſe of men in general that lived in ages long ſince paſt; nor why one age of the World ſhould be wiſer than another; or if it be, why it ſhould not be rather the latter, than the former; as having the ſame advantage of the general experience of the World, that an old man has of the more particular experiments of life.

THus a Family ſeems to become a little Kingdom, and a Kingdom to be but a great Family.

Nor is it unlikely that this Paternal Juriſ-

Juriſdiction in its ſucceſſions, and with the help of accidents, may have branched out into the ſeveral heads of Government commonly received in the Schools. For a Family Governed with order, will fall naturally to the ſeveral Trades of Husbandry, which are Tillage, Gardening, and Paſturage, (the product whereof was the original riches) For the managing of theſe, and their increaſe, and the aſſiſtance of one man, who perhaps is to feed twenty, it may be a hundred children (ſince it is not eaſily told how far Generations may extend, with the Arbitrary choice and numbers of Women, practiſed anciently in moſt Countries) the uſe of ſervants comes to be neceſſary. Theſe are gained by victory and Captives, or by Fugitives out of ſome worſe-governed Family, where either they cannot or like not to live, and ſo ſell their liberty to be aſſured of what is neceſſary to life. Or elſe by the debaſed nature of ſome of the Children who ſeem born to drudgery, or who are content to encreaſe their pains that they may leſſen their cares; and upon ſuch terms become ſervants to

ſome of their brothers, whom they moſt eſteem or chuſe ſooneſt to live with.

The Family thus encreaſed, is ſtill under the Fathers common, though not equal care; that what is due to the ſervants by Contract, or what is fit for them to enjoy, may be provided, as well as the portions of the Children: And that whatever they acquire by their induſtry or ingenuity (beyond what the Maſters expect, or exact from them by the conditions of their ſervitude) ſhould be as much their property, as any diviſions of Land or of Stock that are made to the Sons; and the poſſeſſion as ſecure, unleſs forfeited by any demerit or offence againſt the cuſtoms of the Family, which grow with time to be the orders of this little State.

Now the Father of a Family or Nation, that uſes his Servants like Children in point of Juſtice and Care; and adviſes with his Children in what concerns the Commonweal, and thereby is willingly followed and obeyed by them all: Is what I ſuppoſe the Schools mean by a Monarch. And he that by harſh-

harſhneſs of nature, wilfulneſs of humour, intemperance of paſſions, and arbitrarineſs of commands, uſes his Children like Servants, is what they mean by a Tyrant. And whereas the firſt thought himſelf ſafe in the love and obedience of his Children, the other knowing that he is feared and hated by them, thinks he cannot be ſafe among his children, but by putting arms into the hands of ſuch of his Servants as he thinks moſt at his will; which is the original of Guards. For againſt a Forreign Enemy, and for defence of evident Intereſt, all that can bear Arms in a Nation are Soldiers. Their Cauſe is common ſafety; their Pay is Honour: And when they have purchaſed theſe, they return to their homes, and former conditions of peaceable lives. Such were all the Armies of *Greece*, and of *Rome*, in the firſt Ages of their States. Such were their *Gens d' ordonnance* in *France*, and the Train-bands in *England*: but ſtanding Troops, and in conſtant pay, are properly Servants armed, who uſe the Lance and the Sword, as other ſervants do the Sickle, or the Bill at the

command and will of thoſe who entertain them. And therefore Martial-Law is of all other the moſt abſolute, and not like the Government of a Father, but a Maſter.

And this brings in another ſort of Power, diſtinct from that already deſcribed, which follows Authority, and conſiſts in the willing obedience of the People: But this in the command of Soldiers who as Servants are bound to execute the Will and Orders of thoſe that lead them. And as Authority follows the qualities before-mentioned; ſo this Power follows Riches, or the opinion of it; a multitude of Servants being his that is able to maintain them. And theſe kinde of Forces come to be uſed by good Princes onely upon neceſſity of providing for their defence againſt great and armed neighbours or enemies; But by ill ones as a ſupport of decayed Authority, or as they loſe the force of that which is Natural and Paternal, and ſo grow to ſet up an intereſt of thoſe that Govern, different from that of thoſe that are Governed, which ought ever to be the ſame.

Yet

Yet this ſeems a much weaker principle of Government than the other; for the number of Souldiers can never be great in proportion to that of People, no more than the number of thoſe that are idle in a Country, to that of thoſe who live by labour or induſtry: So as if the people come to unite by any ſtrong Paſſion, or general Intereſt, or under the wiſe conduct of any Authority well rooted in their mindes, they are Maſters of Armies. Beſides, the humour of the People runs inſenſibly among the very Souldiers, ſo as it ſeems much alike to keep off by Guards, a general infection, or an univerſal ſedition: For the Diſtemper in both kindes is contageous, and ſeizes upon the defenders themſelves. Beſides, common pay is a faint Principle of Courage and Action, in compariſon of Religion, Liberty, Honour, Revenge, or Neceſſity; which make every Souldier have the Quarrel as much at heart as their Leaders, and ſeem to have ſpirited all the great Actions, and Revolutions of the World. And laſtly, without the force of Authority, this power of Souldiers grows pernicious to

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their Maſter, who becomes their Servant, and is in danger of their mutinies, as much as any Government can be of the ſeditions of a people.

If the Father of our Family govern it with Prudence, Goodneſs, and Succeſs; and his eldeſt Son appear Heir to the virtues and worth of his Father; He ſucceeds in the Government by a Natural Right, and by the Strength of an Authority both derived from his Father, and acquired by His own perſonal qualities: but if either the eldeſt Son by qualities degenerate and ill, happen to looſe all truſt and opinion, and thereby (Authority) in the Family, Or elſe to die before his time, and leave a Child in his room; when the Father comes to fail, then the Children fall into Councils of Election, and either prefer the eldeſt of the Sons then living, or perhaps one later, and ſo remoter in birth, according as He may have acquired Authority by thoſe qualities which naturally produce it, and promiſe the beſt conduct and protection to the common affairs of the Family.

Where the Father comes to loſe his Au-

Authority, many of the elder, or wiſer, or braver of the Sons increaſe in theirs by the ſame degree: and when both theſe arrive at a certain heighth, the Nature of the Government is ready for a change; and upon the Fathers death, or general defection of the Family, they ſucceed in his Authority, whil'ſt the humour of the whole body runs againſt the ſucceſſion or election of any ſingle perſon, which they are grown weary of by ſo late an example. And thus comes in what they call an *Ariſtocracy*. But Authority contracting it ſelf (as it ſeems naturally to do till it ends in a point or ſingle perſon) this Government falls ſometimes into the hands of a few, who eſtabliſh it in their Families: and that is called an *Oligarchy*. If the Authority come to be loſt in either of theſe forms; while the Children of the Family grow into the manners and qualities, and perhaps into the condition and poverty of Servants; and while many of the Servants by induſtry and virtue, arrive at riches and eſteem, then the nature of the Government inclines to a *Democracy* or Popular State, which is near

neareſt confuſion, or *Anarchy*; and often runs into it, unleſs upheld or directed by the Authority of one, or of ſome few in the State; though perhaps without Titles or marks of any extraordinary Office or Dignity.

GOvernments founded upon Contract, may have ſucceeded thoſe founded upon Authority: But the firſt of them ſhould rather ſeem to have been agreed between Princes and Subjects, than between men of equal rank and Power. For the Original of Subjection was, I ſuppoſe, when one Nation warring againſt another (for things neceſſary to Life, or for Women, or for extent of Land) overcame their Enemies: if they onely won a Battel, and put their Enemies to flight, thoſe they took Priſoners became their Slaves, and continued ſo in their Generations, unleſs infranchized by their Maſters: But if by great ſlaughter or frequent Victories, they ſubdued the very courages of their Enemies, while great numbers of them remained alive; then the vanquiſht Nation became ſubject to the

the Conquerors by agreement, and upon certain conditions of ſafety and protection; and perhaps equal enjoyment of Liberties and Cuſtoms, with the common Natives under the other Government: If by ſuch frequent ſucceſſes and additions, a Nation extended it ſelf over vaſt Tracts of Land and numbers of People; it thereby arrived in time at the ancient name of Kingdom, or Modern of Empire.

After ſuch a Victory, the chiefeſt of the conquering Nations, become rich and great upon the diviſions of Lands, of Spoils, and of Slaves: By all which they grow into power, are Lords in their own Lands, and over thoſe that inhabit them, with certain Rights or Juriſdictions, and upon certain homages reſerved to the Prince. The cuſtom of employing theſe great perſons in all great Offices, and Councils, grows to paſs for a Right, as all Cuſtom does with length and force of time.

The Prince that Governs according to the conditions of ſubjection at firſt agreed upon (of which Uſe is the authentique Record) and according to

to the ancient Cuſtoms, which are the original Laws(and by which the Right of ſucceſſion in the Crown, as well as private Inheritance and Common Juſtice, is directed and eſtabliſht) is called a Lawful Sovereign: He that breaks and violates theſe ancient Conſtitutions (eſpecially that of Succeſſion) is termed an Uſurper.

A Free Nation is that, which has never been conquered, or thereby enter'd into any conditions of Subjection; as the *Romans* were, before they were ſubdued by the *Goths* and *Vandals*: and as the *Turks* ſeem to be at this time; who having been called from *Scythia* to aſſiſt the *Grecian* Empire againſt that of the *Saracens*, made themſelves Maſters of both.

In Countreys ſafer from Forreign Invaſions either by Seas or Rivers, by Mountains and Paſſes, or great Tracts of rough,barren,and uninhabited Lands, People lived generally in ſcattered dwellings,or ſmall Villages: But where Invaſion is eaſie, and paſſage open, and bordering Nations are great and valiant; men croud together, and ſeek their ſafety from number better united,

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and from Walls and other Fortifications; the uſe whereof is to make the few a match for the many, ſo as they may Fight or Treat on equal terms. And this is the original of Cities; but the greatneſs and riches of them encreaſe according to the commodiouſneſs of their ſcituation, in fertile Countries, or upon Rivers and Havens; which ſurpaſs the greateſt fertility of any Soil, in furniſhing plenty of all things neceſſary to Life or Luxury.

When Families meet together, ſurround themſelves by Walls, fall into Order and Laws (either invented by the wiſdom of ſome one, or ſome few men; and from the evidence of their publick utility received by all; or elſe introduced by experience and time) and theſe Cities preſerve themſelves in the enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions, and obſervance of their Inſtitutions, againſt all Invaſions; and never are forced to ſubmit to the will of any Conqueror, or conditions of any abſolute Subjection; They are called free Cities: and of ſuch there were many of old, in *Greece* and *Sicily*, deducing their original

ginal from ſome one Founder or Law-giver: And are many now in *Germany* ſubject to no Laws but their own, and thoſe of the Empire, which is an Union of many Soveraign Powers, by whoſe general conſent in their Dyets, all its Conſtitutions are framed and eſtabliſhed.

Commonwealths were nothing more in their original, but free Cities, though ſometimes by force of orders, and diſcipline, or of a numerous and valiant people, they have extended themſelves into mighty Dominions: and often by Scituation and Trade, grow to vaſt Riches, and thereby to great Power by force of mercenary Arms. And theſe ſeem to be the more artificial, as thoſe of a ſingle Perſon the more Natural Governments; being forced to ſupply the want of Authority by wiſe Inventions, Orders and Inſtitutions.

For Authority can never be ſo great in many as in one, becauſe the opinion of thoſe qualities which acquire it, cannot be equal in ſeveral perſons.

Theſe Governments ſeem to be introduced either by the wiſdom and moderation

deration of ſome one Law-giver, who has Authority enough with the people to be followed and obſerved in all his Orders and Advices; and yet prefers that which he eſteems publick utility, before any intereſt or greatneſs of his own (ſuch were *Lycurgus* in *Sparta*, and *Solon* in *Athens*, and *Timoleon* in *Syracuſe*); Or elſe by the confluence of many Families out of ſome Countries expoſed to ſome fierce or barbarous Invaſions, into places fortified by Nature, and ſecure from the fury and miſery of ſuch Conqueſts. Such were *Rhodes* of old, and ſeveral ſmall Iſlands upon the Coaſts of *Ionia*; and ſuch was *Venice*, founded upon the Inundation of the barbarous Nations over *Italy*: Or laſtly, by the ſuppreſſion and extinction of ſome Tyranny, which being thrown off by the violent indignation of an oppreſſed people, makes way for a Popular Government, or at leaſt ſome form very contrary to that which they lately execrated and deteſted: Such were *Rome* upon the expulſion of the *Tarquins*; and the *United Provinces* upon their revolt from *Spain*: Yet are none of theſe

Forms to be raiſed or upheld without the influence of Authority, acquired by the force or opinion of thoſe virtues above-mentioned, which concur'd in *Brutus* among the *Romans*, and in Prince *William* of *Orange* among thoſe of the *Netherlands*.

I will not enter into the Arguments or Compariſons of the ſeveral forms of Government that have been, or are in the World; wherein that cauſe ſeems commonly the better, that has the better Advocate, or is advantaged by freſher experience, and impreſſions of good or evil from any of the Forms among thoſe that judge: They have all their heighths and their falls, their ſtrong and weak ſides; are capable of great perfections, and ſubject to great corruptions: and though the preference ſeem already decided in what has been ſaid of a ſingle Perſons being the original and natural Government; and that it is capable of the greateſt Authority, (which is the foundation of all eaſe, ſafety, and order, in the Governments of the World) yet it may perhaps be the moſt reaſonably concluded, That thoſe Forms are beſt, which have been longeſt

longeſt received and authorized in a Nation by cuſtom and uſe; and into which the humours and manners of the people run with the moſt general and ſtrongeſt current.

Or elſe, that thoſe are the beſt Governments, where the beſt men Govern; and that the difference is not ſo great in the forms of Magiſtracy, as in the perſons of Magiſtrates; which may be the ſenſe of what was ſaid of old, (taking wiſe and good men, to be meant by Philoſophers) that the beſt Governments were thoſe, where Kings were Philoſophers, or Philoſophers Kings.

THE ſafety and firmneſs of any Frame of Government, may be beſt judged by the rules of *Architecture*, which teach us that the *Pyramid* is of all figures the firmeſt, and leaſt ſubject to be ſhaken or overthrown by any concuſſions, or accidents from the Earth or Air: and it grows ſtill ſo much the firmer, by how much broader the bottom and ſharper the top.

The ground upon which all Govern-

ment ſtands, is the conſent of the people, or the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of them; whether this proceed from Reflections upon what is paſt, by the reverence of an Authority under which they and their Anceſtors have for many ages been born and bred; or from ſenſe of what is preſent, by the eaſe, plenty, and ſafety they enjoy: or from opinions of what is to come, by the fear they have from the preſent Government, or hopes from another. Now that Government which by any of theſe, or all theſe ways, takes in the conſent of the greateſt number of the people, and conſequently their deſires and reſolutions to ſupport it, may juſtly be ſaid to have the broadeſt bottom, and to ſtand upon the largeſt compaſs of ground: and if it terminate in the authority of one ſingle perſon, it may likewiſe be ſaid to have the narroweſt top, and ſo to make the figure of the firmeſt ſort of *Pyramid*.

On the contrary, a Government which by alienating the affections, loſing the opinions, and croſſing the intereſts of the people, leaves out of its compaſs the greateſt part of their conſent;

ſent; may juſtly be ſaid, in the ſame degrees it thus loſes ground, to narrow its bottom: and if this be done to ſerve the Ambition, humour the Paſſion, ſatisfie the Appetites, or advance the Power and Intereſts not onely of one man, but of two, or more, or many that come to ſhare in the Government: By this means the top may be juſtly ſaid to grow broader; as the bottom narrower by the other. Now by the ſame degrees that either of theſe happen, the ſtability of the Figure is by the ſame leſſened and impaired; ſo as at certain degrees it begins to grow ſubject to accidents of wind, and of weather; and at certain others, it is ſure to fall of it ſelf, or by the leaſt ſhake that happens, to the ground.

By theſe meaſures it will appear, that a Monarchy where the Prince governs by the affections, and according to the Opinions and Intereſts of his people, or the bulk of them, (that is, by many degrees the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of them) makes of all others the ſafeſt and firmeſt Government: and on the contrary, a Popular State which is not founded in the general humours and

intereſts of the people, but onely of the perſons who ſhare in the Government, or depend upon it, is of all others the moſt uncertain, unſtable, and ſubject to the moſt frequent and eaſie changes.

That a Monarchy the leſs it takes in of the peoples Opinions and Intereſts, and the more it takes in of the Paſſions and Intereſts of particular men, (beſides thoſe of the Prince, and contrary to thoſe of the people) the more unſtable it grows, and the more endangered by every ſtorm in the Air, or every ſhake of the Earth: and a Commonwealth, the more it takes in of the general humour and bent of the People, and the more it ſpires up to a head by the Authority of ſome one Perſon founded upon the love and eſteem of the People; the firmer it ſtands, and leſs ſubject to danger or change by any concuſſions of earth or of Air.

'Tis true that a *Pyramid* reverſed may ſtand for a while upon its point, if ballanced by admirable skill, and held up by perpetual care, and there be a calm in the Air about it: Nay if the point be very hard and ſtrong, and

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the ſoil very yielding and ſoft; it may pierce into the ground with time, ſo as to grow the firmer the longer it ſtands: But this laſt can never happen if either the top of the figure be weak or ſoft, or if the ſoil be hard and rough; and at the beſt it is ſubject to be overthrown, if not by its own weight, yet when ever any forreign weight ſhall chance to fall upon any part of it; and the firſt muſt overturn whenever there happens any inequality in the ballance, or any negligence in the hands that ſet it up; and even without either of thoſe, whenever there arrives any violence to ſhake it, either from the winds abroad, or thoſe in the Bowels of the Earth where it ſtands.

I will not pretend from this Scheme to preſage, or judge of the future events that may attend any Governments; which is the buſineſs of thoſe that are more concerned in them than I am, and write with other deſign than that alone of diſcovering or clearing truth: But I think any man may deduce from it the cauſes of the ſeveral revolutions that we finde upon record to have happen'd in the Governments of the world:

Except ſuch as have been brought about by the unreſiſtible force and conqueſts of ſome Nations over others whom they very much ſurmounted in Strength, Courage, and Numbers: Yet the brave, long, and almoſt incredible Defences that have ſtill been made by thoſe Governments which were rooted in the general affections, eſteem and intereſts of the Nation; make it ſeem probable that almoſt all the Conqueſts we read of have been made way for, or in ſome meaſure facilitated, if not aſſiſted by the weakneſs of the conquered Government, grown from the diſeſteem, diſſatisfaction, or indifferency of the people; or from thoſe vicious and effeminate conſtitutions of body and minde among them, which ever grow up in the corrupt Air of a weak or looſe, a vicious or a factious State: And ſuch can never be ſtrong in the hearts of the People; nor conſequently firm upon that which is the true bottom of all Governments in the World.

Thus the ſmall *Athenian* State reſiſted with ſucceſs the vaſt Power and Forces of the *Perſians* in the time of *Miltiades*

Miltiades and *Themiſtocles*; *Rome* thoſe of the *Gauls* in the time of *Camillus*: And the vaſt Armies collected from *Africk*, *Spain*, and the greateſt part of *Italy*, in the *Carthaginian* Wars (under the conduct of ſeveral great Captains; but chiefly *Fabius* and *Scipio*): The little Principality of *Epire* was invincible by the whole Power of the *Turks* in Three ſeveral Invaſions under their Prince *Caſtriot* (commonly called *Scanderbeg*): The Kingdom of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, by all the Wars of the *Moors* or *Saracens* for many ages: The State of *Venice*, by thoſe of the *Turks*: The *Switzers*, by the Power of the Emperours: And the *Hollanders*, by that of *Spain*: Becauſe in all theſe Wars the People were both united and ſpirited by the common love of their Country, their Liberty, or Religion; Or by the more particular eſteem and love of their Princes and Leaders.

In the Conqueſts of the *Lydians* by *Cyrus*, and the *Perſians* by *Alexander*; of the great *Aſian* and *Egyptian* Kings by the *Roman* State, and of all the *Roman* Provinces by the ſeveral Northern (or, as they were uſually called, Barbarous)

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rous) Nations ; of the *Spaniards* by the *Moors* ; the *Gauls* by the *Franks* ; and of our ancient *Britains* by the *Saxons*. It is eaſie and obvious to obſerve that the reſiſtances were rendered faint and weak ; either by the ſoft and effeminate diſpoſitions of the people grown up under the eaſineſs, or examples of vicious or luxurious Princes, whom they neither honoured nor willingly obeyed : Or elſe by the common hatred and diſdain of their preſent ſervitude , which they were content to change for any other that came in their way : Or laſtly,by the diſtracted factions of a diſcontented Nation , who agreed in no one common deſigne or defence ; nor under any Authority grounded upon the general love or eſteem of the People.

Of Inſtability and Changes of Governments arrived by narrowing their bottoms, which are the conſent or concurrence of the peoples affections and intereſts, all ſtories and ages afford continual examples. From hence proceeded the frequent tumults, ſeditions, and alterations in the Commonwealths of *Athens*, and *Rome*, as often as either by the

the charms of Orators, or the ſway of men grown to unuſual Power and Riches; the Governments were engaged in Counſels or Actions contrary to the general intereſts of the People. Hence the ſeveral violent changes that have arrived in the Races or Perſons of the Princes of *England*, *France*, or *Spain*: Nor has the force hereof appeared any where more viſible than in *France*, during the Reign of *Henry* the Third, and a conſtant Succeſſion of Minions (as they were then called) where all was conducted by the private paſſions, humours, and intereſts of a few perſons in ſole confidence with the King, contrary to thoſe more publick, and current of the people; till he came to loſe at firſt all eſteem, afterwards obedience, and at laſt his Life, in the troubles given him by the League.

That Government was in the ſame manner expoſed to the Dominion of ſucceeding Favourites, during the Regency of the Queen-Mother in the Minority of *Lewis* the 13*th*, which occaſioned perpetual commotions in that State, and changes of the Miniſtry; and would certainly have produced thoſe

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in the Government too; if *Richelieu* having gained the abſolute aſcendant in that *Court*, had not engaged in the deſigns at firſt of a War upon the *Hugonots*, and after that was ended, upon *Spain*; In both which he fell in with the currant humour and diſpoſitions of the People; which with the proſperous ſucceſſes of both thoſe enterpriſes, helped to bear up him and the Government, againſt all the hatred and continual practices of the great ones in the Kingdom.

But the two freſheſt examples may be drawn from the Revolutions of *England* in the year Sixty; and of *Holland* in Seventy two. In the firſt, The uſurped Powers that had either deſigned no Root, or at leaſt drawn none but onely in the affections and intereſts of thoſe that were engaged with the Government; thought themſelves ſecure in the Strength of an unfoiled Army of above Sixty thouſand men, and in a Revenue proportionable, raiſed by the awe of their Forces, though with the mock-forms of Legal Supplies by pretended Parliaments: Yet we ſaw them forced to give way to the bent and cur-

current humour of the People, in favour of their Ancient and Lawful Government; and this mighty Army of a ſudden loſe their Heart and their Strength, abandon what they had ſo long called their Cauſe and their Intereſt, and content themſelves to be moulded again into the Maſs of the People; and by conſpiring with the general humour of the Nation, make way for the Kings glorious reſtauration without a drop of bloud drawn, in the end of a Quarrel the beginning and courſe whereof had been ſo fatal to the Kingdom.

For the other in *Holland*, the conſtitution of their Government had continued Twenty years in the hands of their Popular Magiſtrates, after the excluſion or intermiſſion of the Authority of the Houſe of *Orange*, upon the death of the laſt Prince, and infancy of this. The chief direction of their affairs had for Eighteen years lain conſtantly in the hands of their Penſioner *de Witt*, a Miniſter of the greateſt Authority and Sufficiency, the greateſt application and induſtry that was ever known in their State. In the courſe of his

his Miniſtry, He and his Party had reduced not only all the Civil charges of the Government in his Province, but in a manner all the Military Commands in the Army out of the hands of perſons affectionate to the Houſe of *Orange*, into thoſe eſteemed ſure and faſt to the Intereſts of their more Popular State. And all this had been attended for ſo long a courſe of years with the perpetual ſucceſs of their Affairs, by the growth of their Trade, Riches, and Power at home, and the conſideration of their Neighbours abroad: Yet the general humour of kindneſs in the people to their old form of Government under the Princes of *Orange*, grew up with the Age and Virtues of the young Prince, ſo as to raiſe the proſpect of ſome unavoidable revolutions among them for ſeveral years before it arrived. And we have ſeen it grow to that heighth in this preſent year, upon the Princes coming to the Two and Twentieth of his Age (the time aſſigned him by their Conſtitutions for his entring upon the publick charges of their *Milice*) that though it had found them in Peace, it muſt have occaſioned ſome

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violent ſedition in their State: But meeting with the conjuncture of a Forreign Invaſion, it broke out into ſo furious a rage of the People, and ſuch general tumults through the whole Countrey, as ended in the blood of their chief Miniſters: In the diſplacing all that were ſuſpected to be of their party throughout the Government; In the full reſtitution of the Princes Authority, to the higheſt point any of his Anceſtors ever enjoyed: But withal, in ſuch a diſtraction of their Councils, and their actions, as made way for the eaſie ſucceſſes of the *French* Invaſion; for the loſs of almoſt Five of their Provinces in Two months time, and for the general preſages of utter ruine to their State.

Dublin July 22d, 1673.

An ESSAY UPON THE ADVANCEMENT Of TRADE in IRELAND.

Written to the Earl of Eſſex, *Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom.*

My LORD,

I Know not what it was that fell into diſcourſe t'other day, and gave your Excellency the occaſion of deſiring me to digeſt into ſome Method, and upon Paper, the means and ways I eſteemed moſt proper for the advancing of Trade in *Ireland*: This

I know very well, that you did it in a manner, and with Expreſſions too obliging to be refuſed, and out of a deſign ſo publick and generous, as ought not to be diſcouraged. I had therefore much rather obey your Lordſhip in this point, how ill ſoever I do it, than excuſe my ſelf, though never ſo well; which were much eaſier than the other. For I might alledg that neither my Birth nor my Breeding has been at all in this Countrey: That I have paſſed onely one ſhort period of my life here, and the greateſt part thereof wholly out of buſineſs and publick thoughts: That I have ſince been Ten years abſent from it; and am now here upon no other occaſion than of a ſhort Viſit to ſome of my Friends: Which are all Circumſtances that make me a very improper ſubject for ſuch a command. But I ſuppoſe the vein I have had of running into ſpeculations of this kind upon a greater Scene of Trade, and in a Countrey where I was more a ſtranger; and the too partial favour your Lordſhip has expreſt to another Diſcourſe of this nature, have coſt me this preſent ſervice; and

you

you have thought fit to puniſh me for one folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the Confeſſor, that preſcribed a Drunkard the penance of being drunk again. However it is, your Lordſhip ſhall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excuſed; which is all I pretend to upon this occaſion.

Before I enter upon the conſiderations of Trade which are more general, and may be more laſting in this Kingdom; I will obſerve to your Lordſhip ſome particular Circumſtances in the Conſtitution and Government, which have been hitherto, and may be long the great diſcouragers of Trade and Riches here; And ſome others in the preſent Conjuncture, which are abſolutely mortal to it; that ſo you may not expect to find remedies where indeed there is none; nor ſuffer men, like buſie ignorant Phyſicians, to apply ſuch as are contrary to the diſeaſe, becauſe they cannot find ſuch as are proper for it.

The true and natural ground of Trade and Riches, is number of People, in proportion to the compaſs of

Ground they inhabit. This makes all things neceſſary to life dear, and that forces men to induſtry and parſimony. Theſe Cuſtoms which grow firſt from neceſſity, come with time to be habitual in a Countrey. And where-ever they are ſo, that place muſt grow great in Traffick and Riches, if not diſturbed by ſome accidents or revolutions, as of Wars, of Plagues, or Famines, by which the People come to be either ſcattered or deſtroyed.

People are multiplied in a Countrey by the temper of the Climate, favourable to Generation, to Health, and long-life. Or elſe by the Circumſtances of ſafety and eaſe under the Government, the credit whereof invites men over to it, when they cannot be either ſafe or eaſie at home. When things are once in motion, Trade begets Trade, as fire does fire; and People go much, where much People are already gone. So men run ſtill to a crowd where they ſee it in the ſtreets, or the fields, though it be only to do as others do, to ſee or to be entertained.

The want of Trade in *Ireland* proceeds from the want of People; and this

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is not grown from any ill qualities of the Climate or Air, but chiefly from the frequent Revolutions of ſo many Wars and Rebellions, ſo great Slaughters and Calamities of Mankind as have at ſeveral Intervals of time ſucceeded the firſt Conqueſt of this Kingdom in *Henry* the Second's time, until the year 1653: Two very great Plagues followed the two great Wars, thoſe of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and the laſt; which helped to drain the current ſtream of Generation in the Countrey.

The diſcredit which is grown upon the Conſtitutions or Settlements of this Kingdom, by ſo frequent and unhappy Revolutions that for many ages have infeſted it, has been the great diſcouragement to other Nations to tranſplant themſelves hither, and prevailed further than all the invitations which the cheapneſs and plenty of the Countrey has made them. So that had it not been for the numbers of the *Britiſh*, which the neceſſity of the late Wars at firſt drew over, and of ſuch who either as adventurers or Soldiers ſeated themſelves here upon account of

the ſatisfaction made to them in Land, the Countrey had by the laſt War and Plague been left in a manner deſolate.

Beſides, the ſubordinacy of the Government changing hands ſo often, makes an unſteadineſs in the purſuit of the publick Intereſts of the Kingdom, gives way to the emulations of the different Factions, and draws the favour or countenance of the Government ſometimes to one party or intereſt, ſometimes to another: this makes different motions in mens minds, raiſing hopes and fears, and opinions of uncertainty in their poſſeſſions; and thereby in the peace of the Countrey.

This ſubordinacy in the Government, and emulation of parties, with the want ſometimes of Authority in the Governour (by the weakneſs of his credit and ſupport at Court) occaſions the perpetual agencies or journeys into *England* of all perſons that have any conſiderable pretences in *Ireland*, and money to purſue them; which end many times in long abodes, and frequent habituating of Families there, though

though they have no money to ſupport them but what is drawn out of *Ireland*. Beſides, the young Gentlemen go of courſe for their breeding there; ſome ſeek their health, and others their entertainment in a better Climate or Scene: by theſe means the Countrey loſes the expence of many of the richeſt perſons or families at home, and mighty ſums of money muſt needs go over from hence into *England*, which the great ſtock of rich Native Commodities here can make the onely amends for.

Theſe Circumſtances ſo prejudicial to the encreaſe of Trade and Riches in a Countrey, ſeem natural, or at leaſt have ever been incident to the Government here; and without them, the Native fertility of the Soil and Seas in ſo many rich Commodities improved by multitude of people and induſtry, with the advantage of ſo many excellent Havens, and a Scituation ſo commodious for all ſorts of forreign Trade, muſt needs have rendred this Kingdom one of the richeſt in *Europe*, and made a mighty encreaſe both of ſtrength and revenue to the Crown of *England*;

whereas it has hitherto been rather eſteemed and found to be our weak ſide, and to have coſt us more blood and treaſure than 'tis worth.

Since my late arrival in *Ireland*, I have found a very unuſual, but I doubt very juſt complaint concerning the ſcarcity of Money; which occaſioned many airy Propoſitions for the remedy of it, and among the reſt that of raiſing ſome, or all of the Coyns here. This was chiefly grounded upon the experience made as they ſay about the Duke of *Ormonds* coming firſt over hither in 1663, when the Plate-pieces of Eight were raiſed three pence in the piece, and a mighty plenty of money was obſerved to grow in *Ireland* for a year or two after. But this ſeems to me a very miſtaken account, and to have depended wholly upon other circumſtances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raiſing of the Money to which it is by ſome great men attributed. For firſt, there was about that time a general peace and ſerenity, which had newly ſucceeded a general trouble and cloud throughout all His Majeſties Kingdoms: then after two years

years attendance in *England*, upon the ſettlement of *Ireland* (there on the forge) by all perſons and parties here that were conſiderably intereſted in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main ſettlement of *Ireland* wound up in *England*, and put into the Duke of *Ormonds* hands to paſs here into an Act; all perſons came over in a ſhoal, either to attend their own concernments in the main, or more particularly to make their Courte to the Lord Lieutenant, upon whom His Majeſty had at that time in a manner wholly devolved the care and diſpoſition of all affairs in this Kingdom. This made a ſudden and mighty ſtop of that iſſue of Money which had for two years run perpetually out of *Ireland* into *England*, and kept it all at home. Nor is the very expence of the Duke of *Ormonds* own great Patrimonial eſtate, with that of ſeveral other Families that came over at that time, of ſmall conſideration in the ſtock of this Kingdom. Beſides, there was a great ſum of Money in ready Coyn brought over out of *England* at the ſame time, towards the arrears of the Army: Which are

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all circumſtances that muſt needs have made a mighty change in the courſe of ready money here. All the effect that I conceive was made by crying up the pieces of Eight, was to bring in much more of that Species inſtead of others current here (as indeed all the Money brought from *England* was of that ſort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worſe allay), and to carry away much *Engliſh* Money in exchange for Plate-pieces; by which a Trade was driven very beneficial to the Traders, but of mighty loſs to the Kingdom in the intrinſick value of their Money.

The Circumſtances at this time ſeem to be juſt the reverſe of what they were then; The Nations engaged in a War the moſt fatal to trade of any that could ariſe; The ſettlement of *Ireland* ſhaken at the Court, and falling into new diſquiſitions (whether in truth or in common opinion, is all a caſe): This draws continual Agencies and Journeys of People concerned into *England*, to watch the motions of the main wheel there. Beſides, the Lieutenants of *Ireland* ſince the Duke of *Ormond*'s time,

time, have had little in their diſpoſition here, and onely executed the reſolutions daily taken at Court in particular as well as general affairs; which has drawn thither the attendance of all private pretenders. The great Eſtates of this Kingdom have been four or five years conſtantly ſpent in *England*. Money, inſtead of coming over hither for pay of the Army, has ſince the War began, been tranſmitted thither for pay of thoſe Forces that were called from hence. And laſtly, This War has had a more particular and mortal influence upon the Trade of this Countrey, than upon any other of His Majeſties Kingdoms.

For by the Act againſt Tranſportation of Cattel into *England*, the Trade of this Countrey which run wholly thither before, was turned very much into forreign parts; but by this War the laſt is ſtopped, and the other not being open'd, there is in a manner no vent for any Commodity but of Wool. This neceſſity has forced the Kingdom to go on ſtill with their forreign Trade; but that has been with ſuch mighty loſſes, by the great number of *Dutch* Privateers

vateers plying about the Coaſts, and the want of *Engliſh* Fregats to ſecure them, that the ſtock of the Kingdom muſt be extreamly diminiſhed. Yet by the continuance of the ſame expence and luxury in point of living, Money goes over into *England* to fetch what muſt ſupply it, though little commodities goes either there or abroad to make any conſiderable ballance: By all which it muſt happen, that with another years continuance of the War, there will hardly be Money left in this Kingdom to turn the common Markets, or pay any Rents, or leave any circulation further than the receipts of the Cuſtoms and Quit-rents, and the Pays of the Army, which in both kinds muſt be the laſt that fail.

In ſuch a conjuncture, the crying up of any ſpecies of Money will but encreaſe the want of it in general; for while there goes not out commodity to ballance that which is brought in, and no degree of gains by exportation will make amends for the venture; what ſhould money come in for, unleſs it be to carry out other money as it did before, and leave the ſtock that re-

remains equal indeed in denomination, but lower in the intrinſique value than it was before? In ſhort, while this War laſts, and our Seas are ill guarded, all that can be done towards preſerving the ſmall remainder of Money in this Kingdom, is, Firſt, to introduce as far as can be, a vein of Parſimony throughout the Countrey in all things that are not perfectly the native growths and manufactures: Then by ſeverity and ſteadineſs of the Government (as far as will be permitted) to keep up in ſome credit the preſent peace and ſettlement: And laſtly, To force men to a degree of induſtry, by ſuffering none to hope that they ſhall be able to live by rapine or fraud. For in ſome diſeaſes of a Civil as well as a Natural body, all that can be done is to faſt and to reſt, to watch and to prevent accidents, to truſt to methods rather than medicines or remedies; and with patience to expect till the humors being ſpent, and the *Criſis* paſt, way may be made for the natural returns of health and of ſtrength.

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This being premiſed as peculiar either to the Government in general, or to the preſent conjuncture; I ſhall proceed to ſuch Obſervations as occur concerning the ways of advancing the common and ſtanding Trade of this Kingdom.

The Trade of a Countrey ariſes from the native growths of the Soil, or Seas; the Manufactures, the commodiouſneſs of Ports, and the ſtore of Shipping which belong to it. The improvement therefore of Trade in *Ireland*, muſt be conſidered in the ſurvey of all theſe Particulars, the defects to which at preſent they are ſubject, and the encreaſes they are capable of receiving either from the courſe of time, the change of cuſtoms, or the conduct and application of the Government.

The native Commodities or common eaſie Manufactures which make up the Exporation of this Kingdom, and conſequently furniſh both the ſtock of forreign Commodities conſumed in the Countrey, and that likewiſe of current Money, by which all Trade is turned; are Wool, Butter, Beef, Cattel, Fiſh, Iron; and by the improvement

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of theſe, either in the quantity, the credit, or the further Manufacture, the Trade of *Ireland* ſeems chiefly to be advanced.

In this Survey one thing muſt be taken notice of as peculiar to this Countrey, which is, That as in the nature of its Government, ſo in the very improvement of its Trade and Riches, it ought to be conſidered not only in its own proper intereſt, but likewiſe in its relation to *England*, to which it is ſubordinate, and upon whoſe weal in the main, that of this Kingdom depends; and therefore a regard muſt be had of thoſe points wherein the Trade of *Ireland* comes to interfere with any main branches of the Trade of *England*; in which caſes the encouragement of ſuch Trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and ſo give way to the intereſt of Trade in *England*, upon the health and vigour whereof, the ſtrength, riches and glory of his Majeſties Crowns ſeem chiefly to depend. But on the other ſide, ſome ſuch branches of Trade ought not wholly to be ſuppreſt, but rather ſo far admitted as may ſerve the gene-

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ral conſumption of this Kingdom, leſt by too great an importation of Commodities, though out of *England* it ſelf, the Money of this Kingdom happen to be drawn away in ſuch a degree, as not to leave a ſtock ſufficient for turning the Trade at home; the effect hereof would be general diſcontents among the People, complaints, or at leaſt ill impreſſions of the Government; which in a Countrey compoſed of three ſeveral Nations different to a great degree in Language, Cuſtoms and Religion, as well as Intereſts (both of property and dependances) may prove not onely dangerous to this Kingdom, but to *England* it ſelf. Since a ſore in the leg may affect the whole body, and in time grow as difficult a cure as if it were in the head; eſpecially where humors abound.

The Wool of *Ireland* ſeems not to be capable of any encreaſe, nor to ſuffer under any defect, the Countrey being generally full ſtockt with ſheep, cleared of Wolves, the Soil little ſubject to other Rots than of hunger; and all the conſiderable flocks being of *Engliſh* breed, and the ſtaple of Wool gene-

generally equal with that of *Northampton* or *Leiceſterſhire*, the improvement of this Commodity by Manufactures in this Kingdom would give ſo great a damp to the Trade of *England* (of which Clothes, Stuffs and Stockins, make ſo mighty a part) that it ſeems not fit to be encouraged here, at leaſt no further than to ſuch a quantity of one or two Summer-ſtuffs, *Iriſh*-freeze, and Cloth from Six ſhillings to Fourteen, as may ſupply in ſome meaſure the ordinary conſumption of the Kingdom. That which ſeems moſt neceſſary in this branch, is the careful and ſevere execution of the Statutes provided to forbid the Exportation of Wool to any other parts but to *England*; which is the more to be watched and feared, ſince thereby the preſent Riches of this Kingdom would be mightily encreaſed, and great advantages might be made by the connivance of Governours; whereas on the other ſide, this would prove a moſt ſenſible decay, if not deſtruction of Manufactures both here and in *England* it ſelf.

Yarn is a Commodity very proper to this Countrey, but made in no great

quantities in any parts beſides the North, nor any where into Linnen to any great degree, or of ſorts fit for the better uſes at home, or exportation abroad; though of all others, this ought moſt to be encouraged, and was therefore chiefly deſigned by the Earl of *Strafford*. The Soil produces Flax kindly and well, and fine too, anſwerable to the care uſed in choice of ſeed and exerciſe of Husbandry; and much Land is fit for it here, which is not ſo for Corn. The Manufacture of it in gathering or beating, is of little toyl or application; and ſo the fitter for the Natives of the Countrey. Beſides, no Women are apter to ſpin it well than the *Iriſh*, who labouring little in any kind with their hands, have their fingers more ſupple and ſoft than other Women of the poorer condition among us. And this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great Manufacture of Linnen, ſo as to beat down the Trade both of *France* and *Holland*, and draw much of the Money which goes from *England* to thoſe parts upon this occaſion, into the hands of His Majeſties Subjects of *Ireland*, without croſſing any

any intereſt of Trade in *England*. For beſides what has been ſaid of Flax and Spinning, the Soil and Climate are proper for whitening, both by the frequency of Brooks, and alſo of Winds in the Countrey.

Much care was ſpent upon this deſign in an Act of Parliament paſt the laſt Seſſion, and ſomething may have been advanced by it; but the too great rigor impoſed upon the ſowing of certain quantities of Flax, has cauſed (and perhaps juſtly) a general neglect in the execution; and common guilt has made the penalties impracticable; ſo as the main effect has been ſpoiled by too much diligence, and the Child killed with kindneſs. For the Money applyed by that Act to the encouragement of making fine Linnen, and broad, (which I think is twenty pounds every year in each County), though the inſtitution was good, yet it has not reached the end, by encouraging any conſiderable application that way; ſo that ſometimes one ſhare of that Money is paid to a ſingle pretender at the Sizes or Seſſions; and ſometimes a ſhare is ſaved, for want of any pretender at all.

This Trade may be advanced by ſome amendments to the laſt Act in another Seſſion, whereby the neceſſity of ſowing Flax may be ſo limited, as to be made eaſily practicable, and ſo may be forced by the ſeverity of levying the penalties Enacted. And for the Money allotted in the Counties, no perſon ought to carry the firſt, ſecond or third price, without producing two pieces of Linnen of each ſort (whereas one onely now is neceſſary). And ſevere defences may be made againſt weaving any Linnen under a certain breadth, ſuch as may be of better uſe to the pooreſt People, and in the courſeſt Linnen, than the narrow *Iriſh* Cloth; and may bear ſome price abroad when ever more comes to be made than is conſumed at home. But after all theſe or ſuch like proviſions, there are but two things which can make any extraordinary advance in this branch of Trade, and thoſe are: Firſt, An increaſe of People in the Country to ſuch a degree as may make things neceſſary to life dear, and thereby force general induſtry from each member of a Family (Women as well as Men), and

and in as many ſorts as they can well turn to, which among others may in time come to run the vein this way. The ſecond is a particular application in the Government. And this muſt be made either by ſome Governour upon his own private account, who has a great ſtock that he is content to turn that way, and is invited by the gains, or elſe by the honour of bringing to paſs a Work of ſo much publick utility both to *England* and *Ireland* (which circumſtances I ſuppoſe concur'd both in the Earl of *Strafford*'s deſign); and when ever they meet again, can have no better copy to follow in all particulars, than that begun at the *Naas* in his time. Or elſe by a conſiderable ſum of Money being laid aſide, either out of His Majeſties preſent Revenue, or ſome future Subſidy to be granted for this occaſion: And this either to be imployed in ſetting up of ſome great Linnen Manufacture in ſome certain place, and to be managed by ſome certain hands both for making all ſorts of fine Clothes, and of thoſe for Sails too. The benefit or loſs of ſuch a Trade accruing to the

Government, until it comes to take root in the Nation. Or elſe if this ſeem too great an undertaking for the humour of our age, then ſuch a ſum of money to lie ready in hands appointed by the Government, for taking off at common moderate prices all ſuch pieces of Cloth as ſhall be brought in by any perſons at certain times to the chief Town of each County; and all ſuch pieces of Cloth as are fit for Sails, to be carried into the ſtores of the Navy. All that are fit for the uſe of the Army, to be given the Soldiers (as Clothes are) in part of their Pay: And all finer pieces to be ſold, and the money ſtill applied to the encreaſe or conſtant ſupply of the main ſtock. The effect hereof would be, That people finding a certain Market for this Commodity, and that of others, ſo uncertain as it is in this Kingdom, would turn ſo much of their induſtry this way, as would ſerve to furniſh a great part of that Money, which is moſt abſolutely neceſſary for payment of Taxes, Rents, or ſubſiſtence of Families.

Hide, Tallow, Butter, Beef, ariſe all from

from one ſort of Cattel, and are ſubject to the ſame general defects, and capable of the ſame common improvements.

The three firſt are certain Commodities, and yield the readieſt Money of any that are turned in this Kingdom, becauſe they never fail of a price abroad. Beef is a drug, finding no conſtant vent abroad, and therefore yielding no rate at home: for the conſumption of the Kingdom holds no proportion with the product that is uſually made of Cattel in it; ſo that in many parts at this time an Ox may be bought in the Countrey-Markets, and the Hide and Tallow ſold at the next Trading-Town for near as much as it coſt. The defects of theſe Commodities lie either in the age and feeding of the Cattel that are killed, or in the Manufacture and making them up for exportation abroad.

Until the Tranſportation of Cattel into *England* was forbidden by the late Act of Parliament, the quickeſt Trade of ready Money here was driven by the ſale of young Bullocks, which for four or five Summer-months of the

year were carried over in very great numbers, and this made all the breeders in the Kingdom turn their lands and ſtocks chiefly to that ſort of Cattel. Few Cows were bred up for the Dairy, more than ſerved the conſumption within; and few Oxen for draught, which was all performed by raſcally ſmall Horſes; ſo as the Cattel generally ſold either for ſlaughter within, or Exportation abroad, were of two, three, or at beſt four years old, and thoſe ſuch as had never been either handled or wintered at hand-meat, but bred wholly upon the Mountains in Summer, and upon the withered long graſs of the lower lands in the Winter. The effect hereof was very pernicious to this Kingdom in what concerned all theſe Commodities: The Hides were ſmall, thin and lank; The Tallow much leſs in quantity, and of quicker conſumption. Little Butter was exported abroad, and that diſcredited by the houſwifery of the *Iriſh*, in making it up; moſt of what was ſent coming from their hands, who alone kept up the Trade of Dairies, becauſe the breed of their Cattel was not fit for the *Engliſh*

liſh-Markets. But above all, the Trade of Beef for forreign Exportation was prejudiced and almoſt ſunk: for the fleſh being young, and onely graſs-fed (and that on a ſudden by the ſweetneſs of the Summers paſture, after the Cattel being almoſt ſtarved in the Winter) was thin, light and moiſt, and not of a ſubſtance to endure the ſalt, or be preſerved by it, for long Voyages, or a ſlow conſumption. Beſides, either the unskilfulneſs, or careleſneſs, or Knavery of the Traders, added much to the undervalue and diſcredit of theſe Commodities abroad; for the Hides were often made up very dirty, which increaſed the weight, by which that Commodity is ſold when it comes in quantities abroad. The Butter would be better on the top and bottom of the Barrels, than in the middle, which would be ſometimes filled up, or mingled with Tallow; nay, ſometimes with ſtones. The Beef would be ſo ill choſen, or ſo ill cured, as to ſtink many times before it came ſo far as *Holland*, or at leaſt not prove a Commodity that would defray the firſt charge of the Merchant before it was

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ſhipt. Nay, I have known Merchants there, ſain to throw away great quantities, after having lain long in their hands without any Market at all.

After the Act in *England* had wholly ſtopt the Tranſportation of Cattel, the Trade of this Kingdom was forced to find out a new Channel; a great deal of Land was turned to ſheep, becauſe Wool gave ready Money for the *Engliſh*-Markets, and by ſtealth for thoſe abroad. The breeders of *Engliſh* Cattel turn'd much to Dairy, or elſe by keeping their Cattel to ſix and ſeven year old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the Beef-trade abroad; and ſome of the Merchants fell into care and exactneſs in Barreling them up; and hereby the improvements of this Trade were grown ſo ſenſible in the courſe of a few years, that in the year 1669, ſome Merchants in *Holland* aſſured me, that they had received parcels of Beef out of *Ireland* which ſold current, and very near the *Engliſh*; and of Butter which ſold beyond it; and that they had obſerved it ſpent as if it came from the richer ſoil of the two. 'Tis moſt evident, that if the *Dutch* War

War had not broken out ſo ſoon after the improvements of all theſe Trades (forced at firſt by neceſſity, and growing afterwards habitual by uſe), a few years would have very much advanced the Trade and Riches of this Kingdom, and made it a great gainer, inſtead of loſing by the Act againſt Tranſportation of their Cattel: But the War gave a ſudden damp to this and all other Trade, which is ſunk to nothing by the continuance of it.

However, having marked the defects that were even in time of peace, it may not be uſeleſs to ſet down the Remedies, though little practicable while the War laſts. For that great one of killing Cattel young, and onely graſs-fed, I know none ſo effectual as introducing a general cuſtom of uſing Oxen for all ſorts of draught, which would be perhaps the greateſt improvement that could be made in many kinds throughout the Kingdom. By this means the great ſlaughter would be made of full-grown, large, and well wintered Cattel, which would double the income made by Hide, Tallow and Beef, and raiſe their credit in all forreign Markets;

kets; every man would be forced to provide Winter-fodder for his Teem (whereas common Garrans ſhift upon graſs the year round); and this would force men to the encloſing of Grounds, and improving Bog into Meadows; the race of Garrans would decreaſe, and ſo make room for the Countreys maintaining the greater number of Cattel, which makes a forreign Commodity, though they die by accident or age; whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or uſeful thing is to be atchieved without difficulties; and therefore what may be raiſed againſt this Propoſal, ought not to diſcourage the attempting it. Firſt, the Statutes againſt that barbarous cuſtom of Plowing by the tail, ought to be renewed, and upon abſolute forfeitures inſtead of penalties; the conſtant and eaſie compoſitions whereof, have proved rather an allowing than forbidding it. Now if this were wholly diſuſed, the Harneſs for Horſes being dearer than for Oxen, the *Iriſh* would turn their draught to the laſt, where-ever they have hitherto uſed the Plowing by the Tail.

Tail. Next, a Standard might be made, under which no Horſe ſhould be uſed for draught; this would not onely enlarge the breed of Horſes, but make way for the uſe of Oxen, becauſe they would be cheaper kept than large good Horſes, which could not be wintered like Garrans without houſing or fodder. And laſtly, a Tax might be laid upon every Horſe of draught throughout the Kingdom; which beſides the main uſe here intended, would increaſe the Kings Revenue by one of the eaſieſt ways that is any where in uſe.

For the miſcarriages mentioned in the making up of thoſe ſeveral Commodities for forreign Markets, they muſt likewiſe be remedied by ſevere Laws, or elſe the improvements of the Commodities themſelves will not ſerve to bring them in credit, upon which all Trade turns. Firſt, the Ports out of which ſuch Commodities ſhall be ſhipt, may be reſtrained to a certain number, ſuch as lie moſt convenient for the vent of the Inland Provinces, and ſuch as either are already, or are capable of being made regular Corporations. Whatever of them ſhall be carried

carried out of any other Port, ſhall be penal both to the Merchant that delivers, and to the Maſter that receives them. In the Ports allowed ſhall be publiſhed rules agreed on by the skilfulleſt Merchants in thoſe Wares, to be obſerved in the making up of all ſuch as are intended for forreign Tranſportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to thoſe rules, ſhall not be ſuffered to go out. Two Officers may be appointed to be choſen every three years by the body of the Corporation, whoſe buſineſs ſhall be to inſpect all Barrels of Beef, Tallow, Butter, and all Packs of Hides, and put to them the ſeal or mark of the Corporation, without which none ſhall be ſuffer'd to go abroad; Nor ſhall this mark be affixed to any parcels by thoſe Officers, but ſuch as they have viewed, and found agreeable to the rules ſet forth for that purpoſe. Whereof one ought to be certain, That every Barrel be of the ſame conſtant weight, or ſomething over. If this were obſerved for a ſmall courſe of time, under any certain marks, the credit of them both as to quality and weight would

would riſe to that degree, that the Barrels or Packs would go off in the Markets they uſed abroad, upon ſight of the mark, like ſilver-plate upon ſight of the Cities mark where 'tis made.

The great difficulty will lie in the good execution of the Offices: But the intereſt of ſuch Corporations lying ſo deep in the credit of their mark, will make emulation among them, every one vying to raiſe their own as high as they can; and this will make them careful in the choice of men fit for that turn. Beſides, the Offices ought to be made beneficial to a good degree, by a certain fee upon every ſeal; and yet the Office to be forfeited upon every miſcarriage of the Officer, which ſhall be judged ſo by the chief Magiſtrates of the Town, and thereupon a new Election be made by the body of the Corporation.

Cattel for Exportation, are Sheep, Bullocks, Horſes; and of one or other of theſe kinds the Countrey ſeems to be full-ſtockt, no ground that I hear of being untenanted: the two firſt ſeem ſufficiently improved in the kinds

as well as the number, moſt of both being of the *Engliſh* breed. And though it were better for the Countrey if the number of Horſes being leſſened made room for that of encreaſing Sheep, and great Cattel; yet it ſeems indifferent which of theſe two were moſt turn'd to, and that will be regulated by the liberty or reſtraint of carrying live Cattel into *England*. When the paſſage is open, Land will be turned moſt to great Cattel; when ſhut, to Sheep, as it is at preſent; though I am not of opinion it can laſt, becauſe that Act ſeems to have been carried on rather by the intereſt of particular Counties in *England*, than by that of the whole, which in my opinion muſt be evidently a loſer by it. For firſt, the fraight of all Cattel that were brought over, being in *Engliſh* Veſſels, was ſo much clear gain to *England*; and this was one with another near a third, or at leaſt a fourth part of the price. Then, their coming over young and very cheap to the firſt Market, made them double the price by one years feeding; which was the greateſt improvement to be made of our dry Paſture-

ſture-land in *England*. The Trade of Hides, and Tallow, or elſe of Leather, was mightily advanced in *England*, which will be beaten down in forreign Markets by *Ireland*, if they come to kill all their Cattel at home. The young *Iriſh* Cattel ſerved for the common conſumption in *England*, while their own large old fat Cattel went into the Barrel for the forreign Trade, in which *Iriſh* Beef had in a manner no part, though by the continuance of this reſtraint it will be forced upon improvement, and come to ſhare with *England* in the Beef-Trade abroad. Grounds were turned much in *England* from breeding, either to feeding or Dairy, and this advanced the Trade of *Engliſh* Butter, which will be extreamly beaten down when *Ireland* turns to it too (and in the way of *Engliſh* Huſwifery, as it has done a great deal ſince the reſtraint upon Cattel). And laſtly, whereas *Ireland* had before very little Trade but with *England*, and with the Mony for their Cattle bought all the Commodities there which they wanted; By this reſtraint they are forced to ſeek a forreign Market; and

where they ſell, they will be ſure to buy too; and all the forreign Merchandize which they had before from *Briſtow*, *Cheſter*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Roan*, *Amſterdam*, *Lisbon* and the *Streights*. As for the true cauſes of the decay of Rents in *England*, which made the occaſion of that Act, they were to be found in the want of People, in the mighty conſumption of forreign Commodities among the better ſort, and in a higher way of living among all, and not in this Tranſportation of *Iriſh* Cattel; which would have been complained of in former times, if it had been found a prejudice to *England*. Beſides, the Rents have been far from encreaſing ſince: and though that may be by other accidents, yet as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unleſs Wool be forbidden as well as Cattel; for the leſs Cattel comes over from thence, there comes the more Wool, which goes as far as t'other towards beating down the price of Paſture-lands in *England*; and yet the Tranſportation of Wool cannot be forbidden, ſince that would force the *Iriſh* Wool

Wool either by ſtealth into forreign Markets, or elſe in Cloth by the advance of that Manufacture; either of which would bring a ſudden decay upon the principal branch of the *Engliſh* Trade.

Horſes in *Ireland* are a drug, but might be improved to a Commodity, not only of greater uſe at home, but alſo fit for Exportation into other Countries. The Soil is of a ſweet and plentiful graſs, which will raiſe a large breed; and the Hills, eſpecially near the Sea-coaſts, are hard and rough, and ſo fit to give them ſhape and breath, and ſound feet. The preſent defects in them, are breeding without choice of Stallions either in ſhape or ſize, and truſting ſo far to the gentleneſs of the Climate, as to winter them abroad, without ever handling Colts till they are four years old: This both checks the growth of the common breeds, and gives them an incurable ſhyneſs, which is the general vice of *Iriſh* Horſes, and is hardly ever ſeen in *Flanders*, becauſe the hardneſs of the Winters in thoſe parts forces the breeders there to houſe and handle their Colts for at

leaſt ſix months every year. In the Studds of perſons of quality in *Ireland*, where care is taken, and coſt is not ſpared, we ſee Horſes bred of excellent ſhape, andvigour,and ſize,ſo as to reach great prices at home, and encourage ſtrangers to find the Market here; among whom I met with one this Summer that came over on that errand, and bought about twenty Horſes to carry over into the *French* Army, from twenty to threeſcore pounds price at the firſt hand.

The improvement of Horſes here may be made by a ſtandard preſcribed to all Stallions, and all Horſes that ſhall be uſed for draught; the main point being to make the common breed large,for then whether they have ſhape or no, they have ever ſome reaſonable price both at home and abroad. And beſides, being not to be raiſed without wintering, they will help to force men into improvement of Land by a neceſſity of fodder. But for incouragement of finer breed, and in the better hands, ſome other inſtitutions may be invented, by which emulation may be raiſed among the Breeders by a pro-

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ſpect both of particular honour and profit to thoſe who ſucceed beſt, and of good ordinary gains and ready vent to ſuch as by aiming at the beſt, though they fail, yet go beyond the common ſorts. To this purpoſe there may be ſet up both a Horſe-Fair, and Races to be held at a certain time every year for the ſpace of a Week; the firſt in the faireſt Green near the City of *Dublin*, the later in that place deſigned by your Lordſhip in the Park for ſome ſuch purpoſe. During this Week, the *Monday*, *Wedneſday* and *Friday*, may be the Races; the *Tueſday Thurſday* and *Saturday*, the Fairs may be held. At each Race may be two Plates given by the King, one of Thirty Pounds, and the other of Twenty (beſides the faſhion) as the Prizes for the firſt and ſecond Horſe; the firſt Engraven with a Horſe Crowned with a Crown; the ſecond with a Coronet, and under it the day of the month, and the year. Beſides theſe Plates, the Wagers may be as the perſons pleaſe among themſelves, but the Horſes muſt be evidenced by good Teſtimonies to have been bred in *Ireland*. For honour, the

Lord Lieutenant may ever be preſent himſelf, or at leaſt name a Deputy in his room, and two Judges of the field, who ſhall decide all Controverſies, and with ſound of a Trumpet declare the two Victors. The Maſters of theſe two Horſes may be admitted to ride from the Field to the Caſtle with the Lord Lieutenant, or his Deputy, and to Dine with him that day, and there receive all the honour of the Table. This to be done, what quality ſoever the perſons are of: for the lower that is, the more will be the honour; and perhaps the more the ſport: and the encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all ſorts of men.

For the Fairs, the Lord Lieutenant may likewiſe be preſent every day in the highth of them, by himſelf or Deputy, and may with the advice of the two chief Officers of the Army then preſent, chooſe out one of the beſt Horſes, and two of the beſt Geldings that appear in the Fair, not under four, nor above ſeven years old. For which ſhall be paid to the owners of them, after ſufficient Teſtimony of their being

ing bred in *Ireland*, One hundred pounds for the Horſe, and fifty pounds apiece for the Geldings. Theſe Sums, as that for the Plates, to iſſue out of the Revenue of *Ireland*, and without trouble or fee; and the three Horſes to be ſent over every year to the Kings Stables. Both thoſe that won the Plate, and thoſe which are thus ſold, ought immediately to be marked, ſo as they may never return a ſecond time, either to the Race or to the Sale.

The benefit by ſuch an inſtitution as this, will be very great and various: For beſides the encouragement to breed the beſt Horſes, from the honour and gain already mentioned; there will be a ſort of publick entertainment for one whole week, during which the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of the City, and the great Officers both Civil and Military, ought to keep open Tables for all ſtrangers. This will draw a confluence of people from all parts of the Country. Many perhaps from the nearer parts of *England* may come, not only as to a publick kind of ſolemnity, but as to a great Mart of the beſt Horſes. This

will inrich the City by the expence of ſuch a concourſe, and the Country by the ſale of many Horſes into *England*, and in time (or from thence) into foreign parts. This will make general acquaintances among the Gentry of the Kingdom, and bring the Lord Lieutenant to be more perſonally known, and more honoured, by his appearing in more greatneſs, and with more ſolemnity than uſual upon theſe occaſions. And all this with expence only of Two hundred and fifty pounds a year to the Crown, for which the King ſhall have three the beſt Horſes ſold that year in *Ireland*.

The Fiſhing of *Ireland* might prove a Mine under water, as rich as any under ground, if it were improved to thoſe vaſt advantages it is capable of, and that we ſee it raiſed to in other Countries. But this is impoſſible under ſo great a want of people, and cheapneſs of all things neceſſary to life throughout the Country, which are in all places invincible enemies of induſtry and improvements. While theſe continue, I know no way of advancing

cing this Trade to any conſiderable degree, unleſs it be the erecting four Companies of Fiſhery, one in each Province of *Ireland*, into which every man that enters, ſhall bring a certain Capital, and receive a proportionable ſhare of the gain or loſs, and have a proportional voice in the Election of a Preſident and Council, by whom the whole buſineſs in each Province ſhall be managed. If into each of theſe Companies the King or Lord Lieutenant would enter for a conſiderable ſhare at the firſt, towards building ſuch a number of Boats and Buſſes as each Company could eaſily manage, it would be an encouragement both of honour and advantage. Certain Priviledges likewiſe, or Immunities, might be granted from charges of trouble or expence, nay from Taxes, and all unuſual payments to the publick, in favour of ſuch as brought in a proportion to a certain heighth into the Stock of the Fiſhery. Nay, it ſeems a matter of ſo great importance to His Majeſties Crowns, both as to the improving the Riches of this Kingdom, and impairing the mighty gains of His Neighbours by

by this Trade, that perhaps there were no hurt if an Act were made, by which none ſhould be capable of being either choſen into a Parliament, or the Commiſſion of the Peace, who had not manifeſted his deſires of advancing the publick good by entring in ſome certain proportion into the ſtock and Companies of the Fiſhery; ſince the greatneſs of one, and application of the other, ſeem the only preſent means of improving ſo rich and ſo important a Trade. It will afterwards be the buſineſs of the Companies themſelves, or their directors, to fall into the beſt methods and rules for the curing and barrelling up all their Fiſh, and to ſee them ſo exactly obſerved, as may bring all thoſe quantities of them that ſhall be ſent abroad, or ſpent at home, into the higheſt and moſt general credit; which with advancing the Seaſons all that can be, ſo as to find the firſt forreign Markets, will be a way to the greateſt and ſureſt gains. In *Holland* there have been above thirty Placaerts or Acts of State concerning the curing, ſalting, and barrelling of Herrings alone, with ſuch

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ſeverity in the Impoſition and execution of Penalites, that the buſineſs is now grown to an habitual skill, and care, and honeſty, ſo as hardly any example is ſeen of failing in that matter, or thereby impairing the general credit of that Commodity among them, or in the forreign Markets they uſe.

Iron ſeems to me the Manufacture that of all others ought the leaſt to be encouraged in *Ireland*; or if it be, which requires the moſt reſtriction to certain places and Rules. For I do not remember to have heard that there is any Oar in *Ireland*, at leaſt I am ſure the greateſt part is fetched from *England*; ſo that all this Country affords of its own growth towards this Manufacture, is but the Wood, which has met but with too great conſumptions already in moſt parts of this Kingdom, and needs not this to deſtroy what is left. So that Iron-works ought to be confined to certain places, where either the Woods continue vaſt, and make the Country ſavage; or where they are not at all fit for Timber, or likely to grow to it; or where there is no convey-

veyance for Timber to places of vent, ſo as to quit the coſt of the carriage.

Having run through the Commodities of *Ireland*, with their defects and improvements, I will only touch the other two Points mentioned at firſt, as the grounds likewiſe of Trade in a Country; thoſe are the Commodiouſneſs of Ports, and the ſtore of Shipping; in one of which this Kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the other. The Haven of *Dublin* is barr'd to that degree, as very much to obſtruct the Trade of the City; the clearing or opening of it were a great work, and proper either for the City, or the whole Province of *Lemſter* to undertake. But whether it be feaſible, or at ſuch charges as will quit coſt, I will not judge, eſpecially conſidering the many good Havens that are ſcattered upon that whole Eaſtern Coaſt of *Ireland*. Beſides this, I know not what to propoſe upon this head, unleſs it be the making of two free Ports, one in *Kerry*, and t'other upon the North-weſt Coaſt, which may thereby grow to be Magazines for the *Weſt-Indy* Trade, and from thence thoſe Commodities

dities may be diſperſed unto all other parts of *Europe*, after having paid the Cuſtoms which they ought to pay in *England*, where this muſt be concerted.

For the laſt Point, I doubt there is hardly any other Country lying upon the Sea-coaſt, and not wholly out of the way of Trade, which has ſo little Shipping of its own as *Ireland*, and which might be capable of imploying more. The reaſon of this muſt be in part the ſcarcity of Timber proper for this built; but more, the want of Merchants, and uncertaintity of Trade in the Country. For preventing the further deſtruction of Timber, a Law may be made, forbidding any man to cut down any Oak that is of a certain heighth, unleſs it be of a certain ſcantling, as twelve inches diameter, or ſome ſuch meaſure as uſually makes a Tree uſeful Timber. And further, the ſevereſt Penalties ought to be put upon Barking any Tree that is not felled; a cuſtom barbarous, and peculiar to this Country, and by which infinite quantities of Timber have been deſtroyed.

Moſt Traders in theſe parts, at leaſt of

of *Ireland*, are but Factors; nor do I hear of any number of Merchants in the Kingdom. The cauſe of this muſt be rather an ill opinion of ſecurity, than of gain; for thoſe are the two baits which draw Merchants to a place: the laſt intices the poorer Traders, or the young beginners, or thoſe of paſſage; but without the firſt, the ſubſtantial and the rich will never ſettle in a Country. This opinion can be attained only by a courſe of time, of good conduct, and good government, and thereby of juſtice, and of peace, which lye out of the compaſs of this Diſcourſe. But to make ſome amends for this want at preſent, encouragement may be given to any Merchants that ſhall come over and turn a certain ſtock of their own here, as Naturalization upon any terms; freedom from Cuſtoms the two firſt years, and from any Offices of trouble or expence the firſt ſeven years. I ſee no hurt if the King ſhould give leave to the Merchants in eight or ten of the chief Trading-Ports of *Ireland*, to name for each Town one of their number, out of which the Lord Lieutenant ſhould chuſe two to be of the Privy-

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Council of *Ireland*, with a certain Salary from the King to defray their attendance: This would be an honour and encouragement to ſo worthy a Calling, and would introduce an intereſt of Trade into the Council, which being now compoſed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the Civil or Military Officers; the Traders ſeem to be left without Patrons in the Government, and thereby without favour to the particular concernments of a chief member in the Politick body; and upon whoſe proſpering the wealth of the whole Kingdom ſeems chiefly to depend.

But this, is enough for your Excellencies trouble, and for the diſcharge of my promiſe, and too much I doubt for the humour of our age to bring into practice, or ſo much as to admit into conſideration. Your Lordſhip I know has generous thoughts, and turned to ſuch Speculations as theſe. But that is not enough towards the raiſing ſuch buildings as I have drawn you here the lines of, unleſs the direction of all affairs here were wholly in your hands, or at leaſt the opinion loſt of other

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mens being able to conteſt with you thoſe points of publick utility, which you ought beſt to know and moſt to be believed in, while you deſerve or diſcharge ſo great a Truſt as the government of this Kingdom: For I think a Prince cannot too much conſider whom to chuſe for ſuch imployments; but when he has choſen, cannot truſt them too far, or thereby give them too much Authority; no more than end it too ſoon, whenever he finds it abuſed. In ſhort, 'tis left only to Princes to mend the world, whoſe Commands find general obedience; and Examples, imitation. For all other men, they muſt take it as they finde it; and good men enter into commerce with it, rather upon cautions of not being ſpoil'd themſelves, than upon hopes of mending the World. At leaſt, this opinion becomes men of my level, amongſt whom I have obſerved all ſet-quarrels with the Age, and pretences of reforming it by their own models, to end commonly like the pains of a man in a little Boat, who tugs at a Rope that's faſt to a ſhip; it looks as if he reſolved to draw the ſhip to him, but the

the truth and his meaning is, to draw himſelf to the Ship, where he gets in when he can, and does like the reſt of the Crew when he is there. When I have ſuch deſigns, I will begin ſuch contentions; in the mean time the bent of my thoughts ſhall be rather to mend my ſelf, than the World, which I reckon upon leaving much what I found it. Nor ſhould I have reaſon in complaining too far of an Age, which does your Lordſhip ſo much juſtice by the honour of ſo great an Imployment, In which as I know no man deſerves greater ſucceſſes than you do, ſo I am ſure no man wiſhes you greater than I do.

Written to the Duke of ORMOND *in* October 1673. *upon his Graces desiring me to give Him my Opinion what was to be done in that Conjuncture.*

THERE never was any Conjuncture wherein it was more neceſſary for his Majeſty to fall into a Courſe of Wiſe and ſteddy Councels, nor ever and wherein it was more difficult to adviſe him. To make reflections upon what is paſt, is the part of ingenious, but irreſolute men, or elſe of ſuch as intend to value themſelves by compariſon with others

others whoſe corruptions or follies they condemn. But in all matters of Counſel, the good and prudent part is to take things as they are (ſince the paſt cannot be recalled) to propoſe Remedies for the preſent Evils, and proviſions againſt future Events.

The King finds himſelf engaged in the ſecond year of a War with the *Dutch*, and for proſecution thereof in a ſtrict Alliance with *France*; and now in danger of being entangled in the quarrel broken out upon this occaſion between *France* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In this ſtate of affairs, it is to be conſidered whether we can purſue our War with *Holland*, and yet preſerve our peace with *Spain*; whether we are able to maintain the War with both in conjunction with *France*; and if not, what there is left for His Majeſty to do, with the beſt regard to His Honour and Safety.

For the firſt we ſhall ſoon be out of doubt; but in the mean time 'tis very unlikely that upon the late conjunction between *Holland* and *Spain*, the *Dutch* ſhould have obliged themſelves to make no Peace without the incluſion

of their Allyes; and that *Spain* ſhould not have yielded to break with Us, in caſe they could not effect a peace between Us and *Holland*; ſince the *Dutch* know nothing could farther induce us to it, than the fear of a breach with *Spain*, and ſo great a loſs of Trade in thoſe Dominions. The *Spaniards* have but one temptation of their own to quarrel with Us, which is an occaſion of recovering *Jamaica*; for that has ever lien at their hearts, and 'tis to be feared their Conjunction with *Holland* has not been perfected without early meaſures between them for the ſurprize of that Iſland, unleſs our care has been as early in providing for its defence. And if we ſhould loſe it, I foreſee little hurt we could do *Spain* in their *Indies*, guarded as they would be, and attended by the Shipping of the *Dutch*. But His Majeſty will, I ſuppoſe, ſoon know from *Spain* what He is to truſt to in this point.

To judge whether upon a breach with *Spain* we are able to maintain the War, muſt be conſidered, the preſent ſtate of the Kings Treaſure, the riſe or fall that may happen in his conſtant

Revenue

Revenue by the *Spaniſh* War, the hopes that may be grounded upon ſupplies from *France*, the aſſurance or meaſure of thoſe expected from the Parliament, the credit of the Exchequer to raiſe preſent money where-ever any of theſe fall ſhort, and the humour of the Nation towards carrying on or ending the War.

For the preſent ſtate of the Treaſury, the King beſt knows it Himſelf, or His Officers can beſt give the account; for the changes that may happen in His Revenue, 'tis evident they muſt be much for the worſe the very firſt year of a *Spaniſh* War. The main branch of it, which is the Cuſtoms, muſt wither away in a very great meaſure, ſince all the Trade in a manner left us upon the *Dutch* War (that has turned to any account) has been that with *Spain* and into the *Straits*: the firſt upon a *Spaniſh* War will be wholly loſt, the laſt can neither be ſecured by our own Convoys, nor by the *French* Fleets in the *Mediterranean*, from the *Dutch* Capers that will fill the *Spaniſh* Havens, and from thoſe of *Biſcay*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Majorca*,

ſerca, which in all Wars have been the Neſts of Picaroons; ſo that no way ſeems left of beginning this War, but as the *Dutch* began theirs, by leaving off all Trade in the Nation while it laſts. But the caſe is very different between them and us, for they have ſtill a Trade left from the *North*, which running upon a ſandy Coaſt from *Hamborough* is ſecured from our Fleets: and they have driven a great Commerce by Colluſion with the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Bremeners* and *Flemiſh*, ever ſince the War began. Beſides, the hearts of their People (which would otherwiſe have ſunk by the loſs of Trade) have been kept up by the neceſſity of their defence, by the laſt extremities which were threatned them from the War, and by the general opinion of juſtice in their Cauſe, both from theſe circumſtances, and the manner of Ours and of the *French* beginning the War.

This makes the States content to impoſe and the people to ſuffer the utmoſt payments; and beſides, in a manner all men of Fortunes among them have a great part of their eſtates lying

lying in the Cantores of the States or the Provinces, which would all be loſt upon the conqueſt of their Countrey, ſo as they will lend to the laſt for ſecuring ſo much as is already in danger. And theſe are circumſtances which will not be found in our Diſpoſitions on Conſtitutions.

For ſupplies from *France*, it muſt be conſidered how their money has been drained out of that Kingdom ſince this War began, by their payments to Us, and to *Sweden*, to the Biſhops of *Colen* and *Munſter*, and ſome other Princes of *Germany*; by their Armies in *Germany*, and the new Conqueſts in *Holland*; all which returns no more into *France*, as money did in their former Wars with *Spain*, that were made chiefly upon their Confines; for then the Pays of their Armies being made only in the Winter-quarters which were in *France* or its Frontiers, the money fell back again into the circulation of their own Country; yet now their expence muſt upon a *Spaniſh* War be increaſed by new Armies in *Catalonia* and *Italy*, and new Fleets in the *Mediterranean*; ſo that all theſe circumſtances with the

general decay of Trade by the War, muſt in few years time leave that Kingdom poorer than it has been this age. And where money is not, the King of *France* himſelf cannot have it.

For what ſupplies may come from the Parliament towards carrying on the War, ſome few days I ſuppoſe will inform us; and no meaſures can be taken unleſs by what paſt in the former Seſſion, which was not very favourable to that deſign.

For the Credit of the Exchequer (at leaſt to any meaſure that may ſupply the Courſe of Neceſſities of a War) I fear it is irrecoverably loſt by the laſt breach with the Bankers; for credit is gained by cuſtom and courſe of time, and ſeldom recovers a ſtrain; but if broken, is never well ſet again. I have heard a great Example given of this (by ſome of our Merchants) that happened upon the laſt Kings ſeizing 200000 *l.* that was in the Mint about the year 38, which had then the credit of a Bank, and for ſeveral years had been the Treaſury of all the vaſt payments tranſmitted from *Spain* to *Flanders*. But after this invaſion of it, though

though the King paid back the money within very few months, yet the Mint has never ſince recovered its Credit among foreign Merchants.

If the buſineſs of money ſhould happen to go lame upon any or all of theſe feet, then all that will be left to carry on the War is the humour of the Nation: And that ſometimes may go farther than any Treaſures, if ſpirited by Hatred or Revenge, by the love of Religion or Liberty, or the neceſſity of Defence: But the good will of the Nation to the preſent War (as it was foreſeen by thoſe who gave the Deſperate Counſels of beginning it with the Proroguing of the Parliament, and ſtopping of the Exchequer; ſo it) has been ſince but too much experienced by the ſucceſſes have attended it, which will ever depend upon the humours and opinions of thoſe that ſerve, as well as the Abilities and Conduct of thoſe that Command; and not to ſpeak of thoſe incurable jealouſies which have been ſo generally raiſed or infuſed into the People about the firſt deſigns of this War, and ſo much encreaſed by the Profeſſions or Actions, or at leaſt

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the general Reputation of those who pass for the chief Authors of it: 'Tis at least observable, that after so long hostility and Four Battles, yet the Nation does not seem at all to be angry, though that is the first thing should be brought about, if we would have men fight.

It is, I doubt, little to be hoped, that a breach with *Spain* should make us any kinder to the War than we were before; since that must grow wholly upon occasion of the *French*. We having no quarrel there of our own. And our kindness to *France* will spirit us as little as our hatred to *Spain*, at least till their fortunes change, and the Ballance rise again on the *Spanish* side, which has risen so long and to such a height on the *French*; for by the course of Humane Nature there will ever be a degree of hatred mingled with fear, and of kindness with compassion.

Upon the survey of these provisions and dispositions, it must be concluded necessary for His Majesty either to make a peace, or else to turn the War directly upon such points of Honour,

Justice

Juſtice and ſafety, as may ingage both the Parliament and Nation in the ſupport and proſecution of the War. And to do this, He muſt at leaſt offer at a peace, and upon terms into which the humor and ſpirit of the Nation will run.

The Conjunction now perfected between *Holland* and *Spain* ſeems the happieſt thing that could have arrived to His Majeſties affairs upon this Occaſion: for whilſt *Holland* ſtood alone, in caſe we had been forced to offer at any meaſures with them, *France* might upon the firſt jealouſie have been before Us, and ſlipping one knot might have tyed another in three days time. But now the Intereſts of the *Empire*, *Spain* and *Lorrain*, are woven together with thoſe of *Holland*, it will not be a ſhort and eaſie work to adjuſt thoſe of *France* with the Emperor in the maters of *Alſatia*, with *Spain* in *Flanders*, or the Duke of *Lorrain* in that *Dutchy*; nor is the Conjunction between *Holland* and their Allies likely to be broken, unleſs by the revolutions of War the *Dutch* come to apprehend a nearer and greater danger from *Spain*,

in

in which caſe they will not fail of returning to their old meaſures with *France*.

The firſt pace which ſeems neceſſary for His Majeſty to make, is to fall into Confidence with *Spain* as far as poſſibly he can, by aſſuring them he reſolves upon a neutrality in the War between them and *France*; that if he comes to a peace with *Holland*, he intends it ſhall paſs by their Mediation; and if that be effected, he will imply his own towards the general Peace of Chriſtendom, and particularly that between *France* and *Spain*.

The next point is to reſolve upon the Conditions neceſſary to a Peace. The beſt way to this is to ſeek without paſſion where the juſtice lies, and the true intereſts of His Majeſties Crowns, as it is generally underſtood by his People, of which the ſenſe of his Parliament is the beſt Teſtimony; for their concurrence will give weight to His demands of Peace, or to the ſupport of a War.

Between Us and *Holland* the points of Juſtice muſt be grounded upon the infraction of Treaties, and ſo will reach

reach only to the buſineſs of the Flag and of *Surinam*. For the Flag, it has been agreed by three ſeveral Treaties in the ſame form; but the Articles ſtill referring to former uſe, it remains to diſcuſs and agree particularly what that has been, and to explain the manner and circumſtances of obſerving it. Without this, no peace we can have will ſeem to be made with intentions to keep it long, while the interpretation of that Article about the Flag is a ground at pleaſure for opening a War. And this point can onely be gained by a ſeparate Peace between Us and *Holland*: for if the War ſhould come to end in a general Treaty, like that of *Munſter*; As His Majeſties intereſt would be leſs conſidered in a croud of ſo many others, and would hardly be ſuffered to obſtruct a general Peace; ſo this Right of the Flag in particular, would be at leaſt diſavoured, if not oppoſed by our Friends as well as our Enemies, that is, by *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, as well as *Spain* and *Holland*.

The buſineſs of *Surinam* is a triſle, and the diſputes upon it aroſe rather from

from an unkind and jealous humour growing between the Nations, than from any difference, or difficulty in adjuſting it; ſo as that is not a thing will lie much in the way, being ſoon decided by plain Articles upon the ſurrender of the Place.

There are two points more wherein the honour and intereſt of the Nation is concerned, and ought to be inſiſted upon, ſo far at leaſt as to find a temper in them, though they can hardly be ſaid to be points of Juſtice, becauſe they are not regulated by Treaties. The firſt is the point of the *Eaſt-India* trade, wherein we deſire new agreements between us, upon ſuſpition of what may happen, rather than complain of any Breach in the old; and though our *Eaſt-Indy* Company never urged their deſires as a juſt ground for a Quarrel, yet a great deal might have been gained in this point from the *Dutch*, while they depended upon our Alliance; and I ſuppoſe may be ſtill, if we fall into it again.

The ſecond is an acknowledgment to His Majeſty for the leave of fiſhing upon his Coaſts; and though this may not

not be grounded upon any Treaty; yet if it appear to have been an ancient Right on our ſide, and cuſtom on theirs, and not determined or extinguiſhed by any Treaty between us, it may with Juſtice be inſiſted on; though it will paſs harder with the *Dutch* than any of the reſt, who will much eaſier be induced to buy off the pretence with a great ſum of money at one or more payments, than acknowledge it by a conſtant tribute.

The laſt thing His Majeſty can demand from *Holland*, is money for the charges of the War. But unleſs the Juſtice or Neceſſity of it were agreed on between us, that will have but a weak ground. And if we expect money, it muſt be to purchaſe what is to come, and not to pay for what is paſt: and it is very probable, that if His Majeſty ſhould reſolve with a peace of *Holland* to enter into a Mediation between *France* and *Spain* upon the evident points of juſtice between them, and to joyn againſt that Crown which refuſes the Peace, both *Spain* and *Holland* would be content to part with their money upon ſuch an agreement.

ment. But the measure and manner must be left to private Treaty, and would depend upon the confidence between us.

Whatever in any of these points or any other His Majesty should be content to release, ought to be done upon the satisfaction He should declare to have received in the advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the Charges of his Ancestors. But for his Majesty to insist upon any further advantages to the Prince than are already devolved upon him, would not onely raise invincible difficulties in our Treaty with the States, but prejudice the Princes affairs among them in a very great measure. And the Prince I believe knows their Constitution so well, as to understand it so.

If upon good terms in these particulars a Peace can be effected with *Holland*, the honour of this Crown will certainly be provided for, and the interest of it, to a higher degree than could have been gained even without the events of the War; since we should be left in Peace to enjoy the Trade of the world, while the House of *Austria*

and

and *Holland* would be engaged in a long War with *France*; and whenever they grow weary, His Majeſty would have the glory and advantage of mediating the Peace.

For the meaſures to be obſerved in all this with *France*, and the preſerving His Majeſties Honour on that ſide; Firſt, the humour of the Parliament as to this War, and the intereſt of the Nation in the Trade with *Spain*, ought to be repreſented to them as difficulties invincible, unleſs *France* can furniſh the charge which the War will coſt beyond what can be ſpared out of His Majeſties conſtant Revenue. Then his Majeſty may propoſe to them His deſign of Neutrality between them and *Spain*; which I ſuppoſe was not a point that entred into any Agreements againſt *Holland*. And laſtly, He may deſire their conſent, ſince he cannot proſecute the War, to make his peace with *Holland*, upon the aſſurance of imploying afterwards his Mediation between them & *Spain*, in which the concurrence of His Parliament will make him able to effect a Peace, as the want of it has made Him unable to purſue the

War. If *France* will not consent either to furnish us with money sufficient to carry on the War, nor to our Neutrality with *Spain*, nor peace with *Holland*; it would then be considered whether *France* in the like case would suffer such a Conjuncture as this to escape them upon any Ties or Treaties between us: or whether indeed any Prince or State would do so. A conjuncture whereby the honour and interest of His Majesties Crowns may be provided for; the Trade of the Nation raised to a heighth it has not reached before; the passionate bent and humour of the people pleased, and their jealousies in a great measure allayed; the true ballance of Christendom maintained; all the Princes and States of it (besides *France* alone) satisfied; and in short, by which his Majesty may grow again insensibly into the hearts of his people at home, and into the influence upon all affairs of his Neighbours abroad.

It is a rude thing which is commonly said, that we may come off from *France* with as much honour as we came on. But it is a true thing, that he

he has always the honour of the War, that has the advantage of it; and 'tis, I doubt, ſo of a Peace too; and that cannot fail us here, provided we make ſure of *Spain* (in caſe we apprehend our loſing of *France*), to which their diſpoſitions and intereſts muſt certainly concur with ours in all points, unleſs that of *Jamaica* make an exception.

All the difficulty His Majeſty can meet with in this purſuit, will be ſome want of reputation and truſt with the Government of *Spain* and *Holland*, which have been foyled of late by the breach of our former Alliances, ſo much (as they think) againſt our own intereſts as well as theirs; for all Treaties are grounded upon the common belief, That every State will be ever found in their own Intereſts, among which their Honour and obſervance of Faith grows to be one very conſiderable (Becauſe while the minds of men are generally poſſeſt with a belief of God Almighty's concerning Himſelf in affairs here below, the opinion of Juſtice or Injuſtice in a Quarrel will never fail of having mighty effect up-

on the ſucceſſes of a War): therefore our reputation cannot any way be ſo far recovered with our Neighbours, as by their finding that His Majeſties Councels return into the true intereſts of His Kingdoms; which will make the *Spaniards* believe our Meaſures may be firm with them, upon the ſame reaſon which has ſhaken them with *France*. Thus much is certain, that whatever means will reſtore or raiſe the credit of His Majeſties Government at home, will do it abroad too: for a King of *England* at the head of his Parliament and People, and in their hearts and intereſts, can never fail of making what figure he pleaſes in the world, nor of being ſafe and eaſie at home; and may deſpiſe all the deſigns of factious men, who can only make themſelves conſidered by ſeeming to be in the intereſt of the Nation, when the Court ſeems to be out of it. But in running on Councels contrary to the general humour and ſpirit of the People, the King indeed may make His Miniſters great Subjects, but they can never make Him a Great Prince.

TO

Shene, *Jan.* 29 1674.

TO THE COUNTESS OF ESSEX,

UPON

Her Grief occasioned by the loss of Her onely Daughter.

THE Honour I received by a Letter from your Ladyship, was too great and too sensible not to be acknowledged; but yet I doubted whether that occasion could bear me out in the confidence of giving your Ladiship any further troubles of this kind, without as

good an errand as my laſt. This I have reckon'd upon a good while by another viſit my Siſter and I had deſigned to my Lord *Capell*. How we came to have defer'd it ſo long, I think we are neither of us like to tell you at this diſtance, though we make our ſelves believe it could not be helpt. Your Ladiſhip at leaſt has had the advantage of being thereby excuſed ſome time form this trouble, which I could no longer forbear, upon the ſenſible wounds that have ſo often of late been given your friends here by ſuch deſperate expreſſions in ſeveral of your Letters concerning your Humor, your Health, and your Life; in all which, if they are your friends, you muſt allow them to be extremely concerned. Perhaps none can be at heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your Ladyſhip, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very occaſion, how unjuſt and unkind ſoever you are to your ſelf. But when you go about to throw away your Health, or your Life, ſo great a remainder of your own Family, and ſo great hopes of that into which you are enter'd, and all by a

deſperate

deſperate melancholy, upon an accident paſt remedy, and to which all mortal race is perpetually ſubject; For God's ſake, Madam, give me leave to tell you, that what you do is not at all agreeable either with ſo good a Chriſtian, or ſo reaſonable and ſo great a perſon as your Ladiſhip appears to the World in all other lights.

I know no duty in Religion more generally agreed on, nor more juſtly required by God Almighty, than a perfect ſubmiſſion to His Will in all things; nor do I think any diſpoſition of mind can either pleaſe Him more, or become us better, than that of being ſatisfied with all He gives, and contented with all He takes away. None I am ſure can be of more Honour to God, nor of more eaſe to our ſelves: for if we conſider him as our Maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our Father, we ought not to diſtruſt him; So that we may be confident, whatever He does is intended for our good, and whatever happens that we interpret otherwiſe, yet we can get nothing by repining, nor ſave any thing by reſiſting.

But if it were fit for us to reason with God Almighty, and your Lady-ships loss be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive; Yet, I doubt, you would have but ill grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do: for the first motions of passions, how violent soever, may be pardoned; and it is only the course of them which makes them inexcusable. In this world, Madam, there is nothing perfectly good, and whatever is called so, is but either comparatively with other things of its kind, or else with the evil that is mingled in its composition; so he is a good man that is better than men commonly are, or in whom the good qualities are more than the bad; so in the course of life, his condition is esteemed good, which is better than that of most other men, or wherein the good circumstances are more than the ill. By this measure, I doubt, Madam, your complaints ought to be turned into acknowledgments, and your Friends would have cause to rejoyce rather than condole with you: For the goods or blessings of life are usually esteemed to be, Birth,

Health,

Health, Beauty, Friends, Children, Honour, Riches. Now when your Ladyſhip has fairly conſidered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what He has given you of all theſe, you may be left to judge your ſelf how you have dealt with Him in your complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you, and conſider other lives as well as your own, and what your lot is in compariſon with thoſe that have been drawn in the circle of your knowledge; If you think how few are born with Honour, how many die without Name or Children, how little Beauty we ſee, how few Friends we hear of, how many Diſeaſes, and how much Poverty there is in the world, you will fall down upon your knees, and inſtead of repining at one affliction, will admire ſo many bleſſings as you have received at the hand of God.

To put your Ladiſhip in mind of what you are, and the advantages you have in all theſe points, would look like a deſign to flatter you: But this I may ſay, that we will pity you as much as you pleaſe, if you will tell us who they

they are that you think upon all circumſtances you have reaſon to envy. Now if I had a Maſter that gave me all I could ask, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either becauſe I uſed it ill, or gave my ſelf ſo much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the reſt of the world; Or perhaps becauſe he would ſhew his power, and put me in mind from whom I held all the reſt; would you think I had much reaſon to complain of hard uſage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

'Tis true, you have loſt a Child, and therein all that could be loſt in a Child of that age; but you have kept one Child, and are likely to do ſo long; you have the aſſurance of another, and the hopes of many more. You have kept a Husband great in imployment, and in fortune, and (which is more) in the eſteem of good men. You have kept your Beauty, and your Health, unleſs you have deſtroyed them your ſelf, or diſcouraged them to ſtay with you by uſing them ill. You have Friends that are as kind to you as

you

you can wiſh, or as you will give them leave to be by their fears of loſing you, and being thereby ſo much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you: But you have Honour and Eſteem from all that know you; or if ever it fails in any degree, 'tis only upon that point of your ſeeming to be fallen out with God and the whole World, and neither to care for your ſelf, or any thing elſe, after what you have loſt.

You will ſay perhaps *that* one thing was all to you, and your fondneſs of it made you indifferent to every thing elſe. But this, I doubt, will be ſo far from juſtifying you, that it will prove to be your fault as well as your misfortune. God Almighty gave you all the bleſſings of life, and you ſet your heart wholly upon one, and deſpiſe or undervalue all the reſt: Is this His fault or yours? Nay, is it not to be very unthankful to Heaven, as well as very ſcornful to the reſt of the world? Is it not to ſay, Becauſe you have loſt one thing God had given you, you thank Him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? Is it not to ſay, Since that one thing is gone out

of

of the world, there is nothing left in it which you think can deſerve your kindneſs or eſteem? A friend makes me a feaſt, and ſets all before me that his care or kindneſs could provide; but I ſet my heart upon one diſh alone, and if that happen to be thrown down, I ſcorn all the reſt; and though he ſends for another of the ſame, yet I riſe from the Table in a rage, and ſay my friend is my enemy, and has done me the greateſt wrong in the world; Have I reaſon, Madam, or good grace in what I do? Or would it become me better to eat of the reſt that is before me, and think no more of what had happened, and could not be remedied?

All the Precepts of Chriſtianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our paſſions, to temper our affections towards all things below; to be thankful for the poſſeſſion, and patient under the loſs whenever He that gave it ſhall ſee fit to take away. Your extreme fondneſs was perhaps as diſpleaſing to God before, as now your extreme affliction; and your loſs may have been a puniſhment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had.

'Tis

'Tis at leaſt pious to aſcribe all the ill that befals us to our own demerits rather than to injuſtice in God; and becomes us better to adore all the iſſues of His Providence in the effects, than enquire into the cauſes: For ſubmiſſion is the only way of reaſoning between a creature and its Maker; and contentment in His will is the greateſt duty we can pretend to, and the beſt remedy we can apply to all our misfortunes.

But, Madam, though Religion were no party in your caſe, and that for ſo violent and injurious a grief you had nothing to anſwer to God, but only to the world and your ſelf; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the world with us a poor needy uncertain Life, ſhort at the longeſt, and unquiet at the beſt; All the imaginations of the witty and the wiſe have been perpetually buſied to find out the ways how to revive it with pleaſures, or relieve it with diverſions; how to compoſe it with eaſe, and ſettle it with ſafety. To ſome of theſe ends have been imployed the inſtitutions of Lawgivers,

the

the reaſonings of Philoſophers, the inventions of Poets, the pains of labouring, and the extravagances of voluptuous men. All the world is perpetually at work about nothing elſe, but only that our poor mortal lives ſhould paſs the eaſier and happier for that little time we poſſeſs them, or elſe end the better when we loſe them. Upon this occaſion Riches came to be coveted, Honours to be eſteemed, Friendſhip and Love to be purſued, and Virtues themſelves to be admired in the world. Now, Madam, is it not to bid defiance to all mankind, to condemn their univerſal opinions and deſigns, if inſtead of paſſing your life as well and eaſily, you reſolve to paſs it as ill and as miſerably as you can? You grow inſenſible to the conveniences of Riches, the delights of Honour and Praiſe, the charms of kindneſs or Friendſhip, nay to the obſervance or applauſe of Virtues themſelves; For who can you expect, in theſe exceſſes of paſſion, will allow you to ſhow either temperance or fortitude, to be either prudent or juſt? And for your Friends, I ſuppoſe, you reckon upon loſing their kindneſs,

when

when you have ſufficiently convinced them, they can never hope for any of yours, ſince you have none left for your ſelf, or any thing elſe. You declare upon all occaſions, you are incapable of receiving any comfort or pleaſure in any thing that is left in this world; and I aſſure you, Madam, none can ever love you, that can have no hopes ever to pleaſe you.

Among the ſeveral inquiries and endeavours after the happineſs of life, the ſenſual men agree in purſuit of every pleaſure they can ſtart, without regarding the pains of the chaſe, the wearineſs when it ends, or how little the quarry is worth. The buſie and ambitious fall into the more laſting purſuits of Power and Riches; The ſpeculative men prefer tranquillity of mind, before the different motions of paſſion and appetite, or the common ſucceſſions of deſire and ſatiety, of pleaſure and pain: but this may ſeem too dull a principle for the happineſs of life, which is ever in motion; and paſſions are perhaps the ſtings, without which they ſay no honey is made; yet I think all ſorts of men

have

have ever agreed, they ought to be our Servants, and not our Maſters; to give us ſome agitation for entertainment or exerciſe, but never to throw our Reaſon out of its ſeat. Perhaps I would not always ſit ſtill, or would be ſometimes on horſe-back; but I would never ride a Horſe that galls my fleſh, or ſhakes my bones, or that runs away with me as he pleaſes, ſo as I can neither ſtop at a River or Precipice. Better no paſſions at all, than have them too violent; or ſuch alone, as inſtead of heightening our pleaſures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain.

In all ſuch loſſes as your Ladiſhips has been, there is ſomething that common nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good nature may be allowed; but all exceſſive and outrageous grief or lamentation for the dead, was accounted among the ancient Chriſtians, to have ſomething of heatheniſh; and among the Civil Nations of old, to have ſomething of barbarous; and therefore it has been the care of the firſt to moderate it by their Precepts, and the latter to reſtrain it by their Laws. The longeſt time that has

has been allowed to the forms of Mourning by the cuſtom of any Counrry, and in any Relation, has been but that of a year; in which ſpace the body is commonly ſuppoſed to be mouldered away to earth, and to retain no more figure of what it was; but this has been given only to the loſs of Parents, of Husband, or Wife. On the other ſide, to Children under age, nothing has been allowed; and I ſuppoſe with particular reaſon (the common Ground of all general cuſtoms), perhaps becauſe they die in innocence, and without having taſted the miſeries of life, ſo as we are ſure they are well when they leave us, and eſcape much ill would in all appearance have befallen them if they had ſtay'd longer with us. Beſides, a Parent may have twenty Children, and ſo his mourning may run through all the beſt of his life, if his loſſes are frequent of that kind; and our kindneſs to Children ſo young, is taken to proceed from common opinions, or fond imaginations, not Friendſhip or Eſteem; and to be grounded upon entertainment, rather than uſe in the many offices of life:

nor would it pass from any person besides your Ladiship, to say you lost a companion and a friend at Nine year old, though you lost one indeed, who gave the fairest hopes that could be of being both in time, and every thing else that was esteemable and good; But yet, that it self God only knows, considering the changes of humour and disposition, which are as great as those of feature and shape the first sixteen years of our lives; considering the chances of time, the infection of company, the snares of the world, and the passions of youth; so that the most excellent and agreeable creature of that tender age, and that seemed born under the happiest Stars, might by the course of years and accidents, come to be the most miserable her self, and more trouble to her Friends by living long, than she could have been by dying young.

Yet after all, Madam, I think your loss so great, and some measure of your grief so deserved, that would all your passionate complaints, all the anguish of your heart do any thing to retrieve it; Could tears water the lovely plant,

so

ſo as to make it grow again after once 'tis cut down; Would ſighs furniſh new breath, or could it draw life and ſpirits from the waſting of yours; I am ſure your Friends would be ſo far from accuſing your paſſion, that they would encourage it as much, and ſhare it as deep as they could. But alas, the eternal Laws of the Creation extinguiſh all ſuch hopes, forbid all ſuch deſigns; Nature gives us many Children and Friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again. And this makes the exceſſes of grief to have been ſo univerſally condemned as a thing unnatural, becauſe ſo much in vain; whereas Nature they ſay does nothing in vain: As a thing ſo unreaſonable, becauſe ſo contrary to our own deſigns; for we all deſign to be well, and at eaſe, and by grief we make our ſelves ill of imaginary wounds, and raiſe our ſelves troubles moſt properly out of the duſt, while our ravings and complaints are but like arrows ſhot up into the air, at no mark, and ſo to no purpoſe; but only to fall back upon our heads, and deſtroy our ſelves, inſtead of recovering, or revenging our Friends.

Perhaps, Madam, you will ſay this is your deſign, or if not, your deſire; but I hope you are not yet ſo far gone, or ſo deſperately bent: Your Ladyſhip knows very well, your life is not your own, but His that lent it you to manage, and preſerve the beſt you could, and not to throw it away, as if it came from ſome common hand. It belongs in a great meaſure to your Countrey, and your Family; and therefore by all humane Laws, as well as divine, ſelf-murder has ever been agreed on as the greateſt crime, and is puniſht here with the utmoſt ſhame, which is all that can be inflicted upon the dead. But is the crime much leſs to kill our ſelves by a ſlow poyſon, than by a ſudden wound? Now if we do it, and know we do it by a long and a continual grief, can we think our ſelves innocent? What great difference is there if we break our hearts, or conſume them; if we pierce them, or bruiſe them, ſince all determines in the ſame death, as all ariſes from the ſame deſpair? But what if it goes not ſo far? 'tis not indeed ſo bad as might be, but that does not excuſe it from being very

ry ill: Though I do not kill my neighbour, is it no hurt to wound him, or to ſpoyl him of the conveniencies of life? The greateſt crime is for a man to kill himſelf; is it a ſmall one to wound himſelf by anguiſh of heart, by grief, or deſpair, to ruin his health, to ſhorten his age, to deprive himſelf of all the pleaſures, or eaſes, or enjoyments of life?

Next to the miſchiefs we do our ſelves, are thoſe we do our Children, and our Friends, as thoſe who deſerve beſt of us, or at leaſt deſerve no ill. The Child you carry about you, what has that done, that you ſhould endeavour to deprive it of life, almoſt as ſoon as you beſtow it? or if at the beſt you ſuffer it to live to be born, yet by your ill uſage of your ſelf, ſhould ſo much impair the ſtrength of its body and health, and perhaps the very temper of its mind, by giving it ſuch an infuſion of melancholy, as may ſerve to diſcolour the objects, and diſreliſh the accidents it may meet with in the common train of life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you ſay to another

you are? Were it a ſmall injury to my Lord *Capell* to deprive him of a Mother, from whoſe prudence and kindneſs he may juſtly expect, the cares of his health and education, the forming of his body, and the cultivating of his mind; the ſeeds of Honour and Virtue, and thereby the true Principles of a happy life? How has my Lord of *Eſſex* deſerved, that you ſhould go about to loſe him a Wife He loves with ſo much paſſion, and which is more, with ſo much reaſon; ſo great an honour and ſupport to His Family, ſo great a hope to His Fortune, and comfort to His Life? Are there ſo many left of your own great Family, that you ſhould deſire in a manner wholly to reduce it, by ſuffering the greateſt and almoſt laſt branch of it to wither away before its time? Or is your Countrey in this age ſo ſtored with great perſons, that you ſhould envy it thoſe we may juſtly expect from ſo noble a race?

Whileſt I had any hopes your tears would eaſe you, or that your grief would conſume it ſelf by liberty and time, your Ladyſhip knows very well I never once accuſed it, nor ever encreaſed

creaſed it like many others by the common formal ways of aſſwaging it; and this I am ſure is the firſt office of this kind I ever went about to perform otherwiſe than in the moſt ordinary forms. I was in hope what was ſo violent, could not be ſo long: but when I obſerved it to grow ſtronger with age, and encreaſe like a ſtream the further it run; when I ſaw it draw out to ſo much unhappy conſequences, and threaten no leſs than your Child, your Health, and your Life; I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it without begging of your Ladiſhip for God's ſake and for your own, for your Childrens and your Friends, for your Countries and your Families, that you would no longer abandon your ſelf to ſo diſconſolate a paſſion, but that you would at length awaken your Pietie, give way to your Prudence, or at leaſt rowſe up the invincible Spirit of the *Piercies*, that never yet ſhrunk at any diſaſter; that you would ſometimes remember the great Honours and Fortunes of your Family, not alwaies the loſſes; cheriſh thoſe veins of good humour that are

ſometimes ſo natural to you, and ſear up thoſe of ill that would make you ſo unnatural to your Children, and to your ſelf; But above all, that you would enter upon the cares of your health, and your life, for your Friends ſake at leaſt, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could be to me ſo great an honour and ſatisfaction, as if your Ladiſhip would own me to have contributed towards this Cure; but however, none can perhaps more juſtly pretend to your pardon for the attempt, ſince there is none, I am ſure, that has alwaies had at heart a greater Honour for your Ladiſhips Family, nor can have for your Perſon more devotion and eſteem than,

Madam,

Your Ladyſhips moſt Obedient,
and moſt humble Servant.

Nimmeguen, *June* 18. 1677

AN ESSAY

Upon the CURE of the

GOUT

BY

MOXA.

Written to Mounſier de Zulichem.

I Never thought it would have befaln me to be the firſt that ſhould try a new experiment, any more than to be Author of any new invention, being little inclined to practiſe upon others, and as little that others

others ſhould practiſe upon me. The ſame warmth of head diſpoſes men to both, though one be commonly eſteemed an honour, and the other a reproach. I am ſorry the firſt, and the worſe of the two, is fallen to my ſhare, by which all a man can hope is to avoid cenſure, and that is much harder than to gain applauſe: For this may be done by one great or wiſe action in an age; but to avoid cenſure, a man muſt paſs his life without ſaying or doing one ill or fooliſh thing.

This might ſerve the turn, if all men were juſt; but as they are, I doubt nothing will, and that 'tis the idleſt pretenſion in the world to live without it; The meaneſt Subjects cenſuring the actions of the greateſt Prince; The ſillieſt Servants of the wiſeſt Maſter; and young Children of the oldeſt Parents. Therefore I have not troubled my ſelf to give any account of an experiment I made by your perſwaſion, to ſatisfie thoſe who imputed it to folly, raſhneſs, or impatience; but to ſatisfie you who propoſed the thing in kindneſs to me, and deſired the Relation

tion of it in kindneſs to other men.

I confeſs, your ingaging me firſt in this adventure of the *Moxa*, and deſiring the ſtory of it from me, is like giving one the torture, and then asking his confeſſion; which is hard uſage to an innocent man, and a freind: Beſides, having ſuffered the firſt, I took my ſelf to have a right of refuſing the other. But I find your Authority with me is too great to be diſputed in either; and the pretence of publick good is a cheat that will ever paſs in the world, though ſo often abuſed by ill men, that I wonder the good do not grow aſhamed to uſe it any longer. Let it be as it will, you have what you asked, and cannot but ſay that I have done, as well as ſuffered, what you had a mind to engage me in. I have told you the ſtory with the more circumſtance, becauſe many queſtioned the Diſeaſe, that they might not allow of the cure; though the certainty of one, and force of the other, has been enough evidenced by two returns ſince I left you at the *Hague*, which paſt with the ſame ſucceſs. the reaſonings upon this method, which ſeem to confirm the experiment

riment and other Remedies for the *Gout* here reflected on, are aimed at the ſame end for which you ſeemed ſo much to deſire this Relation. The digreſſions I cannot excuſe otherwiſe, than by the confidence that no man will read them, who has not at leaſt as much leiſure as I had when I writ them; and whoſoever diſlikes, or grows weary of them, may throw them away. For thoſe about temperance, age, or their effects and periods in reference to publick buſineſs, they could be better addreſt to none, than to you, who have paſt the longeſt life with the moſt temperance, and the beſt health and humor of any man I know; and having run through ſo much great and publick buſineſs, have found out the ſecret ſo little known, that there is a time to give it over.

I will pretend but to one piece of merit in this Relation, which is to have writ it for you in *Engliſh*, being the Language I alwaies obſerved to have moſt of your kindneſs among ſo many others of your acquaintance. If your partiality to that, and to me, and to your own requeſt, will not excuſe

cuſe all the faults of this Paper; I have nothing more to ſay for it, and ſo will leave you to judge of it as you pleaſe.

AMong all the Diſeaſes, to which the intemperance of this Age diſpoſes it (at leaſt in theſe Northern Climates), I have obſerved none to encreaſe ſo much within the compaſs of my memory and converſation, as the *Gout*, nor any I think of worſe conſequence to mankind; becauſe it falls generally upon perſons engaged in publick affairs, and great imployments, upon whoſe thoughts and cares (if not their motions and their pains) the common good and ſervice of their Countrie ſo much depends. The General Officers of Armies, the Governours of Provinces, the publick Miniſters in Councels at home, and Embaſſies abroad (that have fallen in my way) being generally ſubject to it in one degree or other. I ſuppoſe the reaſon of this may be, that men ſeldom come into thoſe Poſts till after forty years old, about which time the natural heat beginning to decay, makes

way

way for those distempers they are most inclined to by their Native Constitutions, or by their customs and habits of life. Besides, persons in those Posts are usually born of Families Noble and Rich, and so derive a weakness of constitution from the ease and luxurie of their Ancestors, and the delicacy of their own Education; Or if not, yet the plenty of their fortunes from those very imployments, and the general custom of living in them at much expence, engages men in the constant use of great Tables, and in frequent excesses of several kinds, which must end in diseases when the vigor of youth is past, and the force of exercise (that served before to spend the humour) is given over for a sedentary and unactive life.

These I take to be the reasons of such persons being so generally subject to such accidents more than other men; and they are so plain, that they must needs occur to any one that thinks. But the ill consequence of it is not so obvious, though perhaps as evident to men that observe, and may be equally confirmed by Reasons and Examples.

It

It is that the vigor of the mind decays with that of the body, and not only humour and invention, but even judgment and reſolution, change and languiſh, with ill conſtitution of body, and of health; And by this means publick buſineſs comes to ſuffer by private infirmities, and Kingdoms or States fall into weakneſſes and diſtempers, by the diſeaſes or decays of thoſe perſons that manage them.

Within theſe fifteen years paſt, I have known a great Fleet diſabled for two Months, and thereby loſe great occaſions, by an indiſpoſition of the Admiral, while he was neither well enough to exerciſe, nor ill enough to leave the command. I have known two towns of the greateſt conſequence loſt contrary to all forms, by the Governours falling ill in the time of the Sieges.

I have obſerved the fate of a *Campania* determine contrary to all appearances, by the caution and conduct of a General, which were attributed by thoſe that knew him to his age and infirmities, rather than his own true qualities, acknowledged otherwiſe to have been

been as great as moſt men of the Age. I have ſeen the Councels of a noble Countrey grow bold, or timorous, according to the Fits of his good or ill health that managed them, and the pulſe of the Government beat high or low with that of the Governour; and this unequal Conduct make way for great accidents in the world: Nay, I have often reflected upon the Councels and Fortunes of the greateſt Monarchies riſing and decaying ſenſibly with the ages and healths of the Princes and chief Officers that governed them. And I remember one great Miniſter that confeſt to me, when he fell into one of his uſual Fits of the Gout, He was no longer able to bend his mind or thoughts to any publick buſineſs, nor give Audiences beyond two or three of his own Domeſticks, though it were to ſave a Kingdom; and that this proceeded not from any violence of pain, but from a general languiſhing and faintneſs of Spirits, which made him in thoſe Fits think nothing worth the trouble of one careful or ſolicitous thought. For the approaches or lurkings of the Gout, the Spleen, or the

Scurvie,

Scurvy, nay the very fumes of indigeſtion, may indiſpoſe men to thought and to care, as well as diſeaſes of danger and pain.

Thus accidents of Health grow to be accidents of State, and publick conſtitutions come to depend in a great meaſure upon thoſe of particular men; which makes it perhaps ſeem neceſſary in the choice of perſons for great imployments (at leaſt ſuch as require conſtant application and pains) to conſider their bodies as well as their minds, and ages and health as well as their abilities.

When I was yonger than I am, and thereby a worſe judge of age; I have often ſaid, that what great thing ſoever a man propoſed to do in his life, He ſhould think of atchieving it by fifty years old. Now I am approaching that age, I think it much more than I did before; and that no man rides to an end of that Stage without feeling his journey in all parts, whatever diſtinctions are made between the mind and the body, or between judgment and memory. And though I have known ſome few, who might per-

haps be of use in Councel upon great occasions, till after threescore and ten; and have heard that the two late Ministers in *Spain*, Counts of *Castriglio* and *Pignoranda*, were so till fourscore; Yet I will not answer, that the very conduct of publick affairs under their Ministrie has not alwaies tasted of the lees of their age.

I observe in this Assembly at *Nimmeguen*, from so many several parts of *Christendom*, that of one and twenty Ambassadors, there are but three above fifty years old; which seems an Argument, of my opinion being in a manner general; Nor can I think the period ill calculated, at least for a great General of Armies, or Minister of State, in times or scenes of great Action, when the care of a State or an Armie ought to be as constant as the *Chymicks* fire, to make any great production; and if it goes out for an hour, perhaps the whole operation fails. Now I doubt whether any man after fifty be capable of such constant application of thought, any more than of long and violent labour or exercise, which that certainly is, and of the finest parts.

Besides,

Beſides, none that feels ſenſibly the decays of age, and his life wearing off, can figure to himſelf thoſe imaginary charms in Riches and Praiſe, that men are apt to do in the warmth of their blood; and thoſe are the uſual Incentives towards the attempt of great dangers, and ſupport of great trouble and pains.

To confirm this by Examples, I have heard that Cardinal *Mazarine*, about five and fifty, found it was time to give over: That the preſent Grand *Vizier*, who paſſes for one of the greateſt men of that Empire, or this Age, began his Miniſtry about twenty eight; and the greateſt I have obſerved, which was that of *Monſieur de Witt*, began at three and thirty, and laſted to forty eight, and could not, I believe, have gone on many years longer at that heighth, even without that fatal end. Among other qualities which enter'd into the compoſition of this Miniſter, the great care he had of his health, and the little of his life, were not, I think, the leaſt conſiderable; ſince from the firſt he derived his great temperance, as well as his great boldneſs and con-

ſtancy from the other. And if intemperance be allowed to be the common Mother of Gout, or Dropſie, and of Scurvie, and moſt other lingring Diſeaſes, which are thoſe that infeſt the State; I think Temperance deſerves the firſt rank among publick Virtues, as well as thoſe of private men; and doubt whether any can pretend to the conſtant ſteddy exerciſe of Prudence, Juſtice, or Fortitude, without it.

Upon theſe Grounds, whoever can propoſe a way of Curing, or preventing the Gout (which enter'd chiefly into thoſe examples I have mentioned of publick affairs ſuffering by private indiſpoſitions) would perhaps do a ſervice to Princes and States, as well as to particular men; which makes me the more willing to tell my Story, and talk out of my Trade, being ſtrongly poſſeſt with a belief, that what I have tried, or thought, or heard upon this ſubject, may go a great way in preventing the growth of this diſeaſe where it is but new, though perhaps longer methods are neceſſary to deal with it when 'tis old.

From my Grandfathers death I had reaſon

reaſon to apprehend the Stone, and from my Fathers life the Gout, who has been for this many years, and ſtill continues much afflicted with it. The firſt apprehenſion has been, I confeſs, with me ever the ſtrongeſt, and the other hardly in my thoughts, having never deſerved it by the uſual forms; Nor had I ever, I thank God, the leaſt threat from either of them, till the laſt year at the *Hague*, being then in the ſeven and fortieth of my age; when about the end of *February*, one night at Supper, I felt a ſudden pain in my right foot, which from the firſt moment it began, encreaſed ſenſibly, and in an hours time to that degree, that though I ſaid nothing, yet others took notice of it in my face, and ſaid, They were ſure I was not well, and would have had me go to bed. I confeſt I was in pain, and thought it was with ſome ſprain at Tennis: I pulled off my ſhooe, and with ſome eaſe that gave me, ſtir'd not till the Company broke up, which was about three hours after my pain began. I went away to bed, but it raged ſo much all night, that I could not ſleep a wink. I en-

dured it till about eight next morning, in hopes ſtill of ſtealing ſome reſt; but then making my complaints, and ſhewing my foot, they found it very red and angry; and to relieve my extremity of pain, began to apply common Poltices to it; and by the frequent change of them I found ſome eaſe, and continued this exerciſe all that day, and a great part of the following night, which I paſt with very little reſt. The morning after, my foot began to ſwell, and the violence of my pain to aſſwage, though it left ſuch a ſoreneſs, that I could hardly ſuffer the Clothes of my bed, nor ſtir my foot but as it was lifted.

By this time my illneſs being enquired after about the Town, was concluded to be the Gout; and being no longer feveriſh, or in any extremity of pain, I was content to ſee company. Every body that came to viſit me, found ſomething to ſay upon the occaſion; ſome made a jeſt of it, or a little reproach; others were ſerious in their mirth, and made me Compliments as upon a happy accident and ſign of long life. The *Spaniards* askt

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me *Albricias* for telling me the news, that I might be ſure 'twas the Gout; and in ſhort, none of the company was in ill humour but I, who had rather by half have had a Fever, or a worſe diſeaſe at that time, where the danger might have been greater, but the trouble and the melancholy would I am ſure have been leſs.

Though I had never feared the Gout, yet I had alwaies ſcorned it as an effect commonly of intemperance; and hated it, as that I thought made men unfit for any thing after they were once deep engaged in it: Beſides, I was preſt in my journey at that time to *Nimmeguen* by His Majeſties Commands, to aſſiſt at the Treaty there. Moſt of the Ambaſſadors from the ſeveral parts of *Chriſtendom* were upon their way; One of my *Colleagues* was already upon the place, and I had promiſed immediately to follow; for by our Commiſſion we were to be two to act in that Mediation; and to help at this pinch, I had alwaies heard that a Fit of the Gout uſed to have ſix weeks at the leaſt for its ordinary period. With theſe comforts about me, and ſullen-

neſs enough to uſe no Remedy of a hundred that were told me, Monſieur *Zulichem* came to ſee me (among the reſt of my Friends) who I think never came into company without ſaying ſomething that was new, and ſo he did upon my occaſion. For talking of my illneſs, and approving of my obſtinacy againſt all the common preſcriptions; he asked me whether I had never heard the *Indian* way of Curing the Gout by *Moxa*? I told him no, and asked him what it was? He ſaid it was a certain kind of Moſs that grew in the *Eaſt-Indies*; that their way was, whenever any body Fell into a Fit of the Gout, to take a ſmall quantity of it, and form it into a figure broad at bottom as a two-pence, and pointed at top; To ſet the bottom exactly upon the place where the violence of the pain was fixed; then with a ſmall round perfumed Match (made likewiſe in the *Indies*) to give fire to the top of the Moſs; which burning down by degrees, came at length to the skin, and burnt it till the Moſs was conſumed to aſhes: That many times the firſt burning would remove the pain; if not,

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it was to be renewed a ſecond, third and fourth time, till it went away, and till the perſon found he could ſet his foot boldly to the ground and walk.

I deſired him to tell me how he had come acquainted with this new Operation. He ſaid, by the Relation of ſeveral who had ſeen and tried it in the *Indies*, but particularly by an ingenious little Book, written of it by a *Dutch* Miniſter at *Batavia*, who being extremely tormented with a Fit of the Gout, an old *Indian*-woman coming to ſee him, undertook to Cure him, and did it immediately by this *Moxa*; and after many experiments of it there, had written this Treatiſe of it in *Dutch* for the uſe of his Countreymen, and ſent over a quantity of the Moſs and Matches to his Son at *Utrecht*, to be ſold, if any would be perſwaded to uſe them. That though he could not ſay whether experiment had been made of it here, yet the Book was worth reading; and for his part, He thought He ſhould try it if ever He ſhould fall into that Diſeaſe.

I deſired the Book, which He promiſed to ſend me next morning; and this

this diſcourſe of Monſieur *Zulichem* buſied my head all night. I hated the very name of the *Gout*, and thought it a reproach: and for the good ſign people called it, I could not find that mended an ill thing; nor could I like any ſign of living long in weakneſs or in pain. I deplored the loſs of my legs, and confinement to my chamber at an age that left me little pleaſure but of walking and of air; but the worſt circumſtance of all, was the ſentence paſt upon it of being without Cure.

I had paſt Twenty years of my life, and ſeveral accidents of danger in my health, without any uſe of Phyſicians; and from ſome experiments of my own, as well as much reading and thought upon that ſubject, had reaſoned my ſelf into an opinion, that the uſe of them and their methods (unleſs in ſome ſudden and acute diſeaſe) was it ſelf a very great venture; and that their greateſt practiſers practiſed leaſt upon themſelves, or their friends. I had ever quarrelled with their ſtudying art more than nature, and applying themſelves to methods, rather than to remedies; whereas the knowledg of the laſt

laſt is all that nine parts in ten of the world have truſted to in all ages.

But for the common remedies of the Gout, I found exceptions to them all; the time of Purging was paſt with me, which otherwiſe I ſhould certainly have tried upon the authority of the great *Hippocrates*, who ſays it ſhould be done upon the firſt motion of the humour in the Gout. For Poltices, I knew they allayed pain; but withal, that they drew down the humours, and ſuppled the parts, thereby making the paſſages wider, and apter to receive them in greater quantity; and I had often heard it concluded, that the uſe of them ended in loſing that of ones limbs, by weakening the joynt upon every fit. For Plaiſters that had any effect, I thought it muſt be by diſperſing or repelling the humours, which could not be done without endangering perhaps ſome other diſeaſe of the bowels, the ſtomach, or the head. Reſt and warmth either of clothes or bathings, I doubted would in a degree have the effects of Poltices; and Sweating was proper for prevention rather than remedy. So that all I could end

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in with any ſatisfaction, was patience and abſtinence; and though I eaſily reſolved of the laſt, yet the firſt was hard to be found in the circumſtances of my buſineſs, as well as of my health.

All this made me rave upon Monſieur *Zulichem*'s new operation; and for the way of curing by fire, I found twenty things to give me an opinion of it. I remembred what I had read of the *Egyptians* of old, who uſed it in moſt diſeaſes; and what I had often heard of that practice ſtill continuing among the Moors of *Africk*; ſo that a ſlave is ſeldom taken (as both *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes* affirm) who has not many ſcars of the hot-iron upon his body, which they uſe upon moſt diſtempers, but eſpecially thoſe of the head, and conſequently in Phyſick as well as in Surgery. In the time of the *Incas* reign in *Peru*, (which I take to have been one of the greateſt Conſtitutions of Abſolute Monarchy that has been in the world) no compoſition was allowed by the Laws to be uſed in point of Medicine, but only Simples proper to each Diſeaſe. Burning was much in uſe either by natural or artificial fires; particu-

particularly for all illneſs of teeth, and ſoreneſs or ſwelling of the gums (which they were ſubject to from their nearneſs to the Sea) they had an herb which never failed of curing it, and being laid to the gums, burnt away all the fleſh that was ſwelled or corrupted, and made way for new that came again as ſound as that of a Child. I remembred to have had my ſelf in my youth, one cruel wound cured by ſcalding Medicaments, after it was grown ſo putrified as to have (in the Surgeons opinion) endangered the bone; and the violent ſwelling and bruiſe of another, taken away as ſoon as I received it, by ſcalding it with Milk. I remembred the cure of Chilblanes when I was a boy (which may be called the Childrens Gout) by burning at the fire, or elſe by ſcalding brine, that has (I ſuppoſe) the ſame effect. I had heard of curing the ſtings of Adders, and bites of mad Dogs, by immediately burning the part with a hot-iron; and of ſome ſtrange cures of Frenzies, by caſual applications of fire to the lower parts; which ſeems reaſonable enough, by the violent revulſion it may make of humors from the

the head; and agrees with the opinions and practice I mentioned before, of *Egypt* and *Africa*. Perhaps bliſtering in the neck, and hot Pidgeons, may be in uſe among us upon the ſame grounds; and in our Methods of Surgery, nothing is found of ſuch effect in the caſe of old Ulcers, as fire, which is certainly the greateſt drawer and dryer, and thereby the greateſt cleanſer that can be found. I knew very well, that in Diſeaſes of Cattel, there is nothing more commonly uſed, nor with greater ſucceſs; and concluded it was but a tenderneſs to Mankind that made it leſs in uſe amongſt us, and which had introduced Corroſives and Cauſticks to ſupply the place of it, which are indeed but artificial fires.

I mention all theſe reflections, to ſhew that the experiment I reſolved to make, was upon thought, and not raſhneſs or impatience (as thoſe called it that would have diſſuaded me from it); but the chief reaſon was, that I liked no other, becauſe I knew they failed every day, and left men in deſpair of being ever well cured of the Gout.

Next morning I lookt over the Book which

which Monſieur *Zulichem* had promiſed me, written by the Miniſter at *Batavia*. I pretended not to judg of the *Indian* Philoſophy, or reaſonings upon the cauſe of the Gout; but yet thought them as probable as thoſe of Phyſicians here; and liked them ſo much the better, becauſe it ſeems their opinion in the point is general among them, as well as their method of curing; whereas the differences among ours are almoſt as many in both, as there are Phyſicians that reaſon upon the cauſes, or practiſe upon the cure of that diſeaſe. They hold that the cauſe of the Gout is a malignant vapor that falls upon the joynt between the bone and the skin that covers it, which being the moſt ſenſible of all parts of the body, cauſes the violence of the pain. That the ſwelling is no part of the diſeaſe, but only an effect of it, and of a kindneſs in nature, that to relieve the part affected, calls down humours to damp the malignity of the vapor, and thereby aſſwage the ſharpneſs of the pain; which ſeldom fails whenever the part grows very much ſwelled. That conſequently the ſwellings and returns of the

the Gout, are chiefly occasioned by the ill methods of curing it at first. That this vapour falling upon joynts which have not motion, and thereby heat enough to dispel it, cannot be cured otherwise than by burning, by which it immediately evaporates; and that this is evident by the present ceasing of the pain upon the second, third, or fourth application of the *Moxa*, which are performed in a few minutes time. And the Author affirms it happens often there, that upon the last burning, an extreme stench comes out of the skin where the fire had opened it.

Whatever the reasonings were, which yet seemed ingenious enough; the experiments alledged with so much confidence, and to be so general in those parts, and told by an Author that writ like a plain man, and one whose profession was to tell truth, helped me to resolve upon making the trial. I was confirmed in this resolution by a *Germon* Physician, Doctor *Theodore Coleby*, who was then in my Family, a sober and intelligent man, whom I dispatched immediately to *Utrecht*, to bring me some of the *Moxa*, and learn the exact

exact method of uſing it, from the man that ſold it, who was Son to the Miniſter of *Batavia*. He returned with all that belonged to this Cure, having performed the whole operation upon his hand by the mans direction. I immediately made the experiment in the manner before related, ſetting the *Moxa* juſt upon the place where the firſt violence of my pain began, which was the joynt of the great toe, and where the greateſt anger and ſoreneſs ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the ſwelling of my foot, ſo that I had never yet in five days been able to ſtir it, but as it was lifted.

Upon the firſt burning I found the skin ſhrink all round the place; and whether the greater pain of the fire had taken away the ſenſe of a ſmaller or no, I could not tell; but I thought it leſs than it was: I burnt it the ſecond time, and upon it obſerved the skin about it to ſhrink, and the ſwelling to flat yet more than at firſt. I began to move my toe, which I had not done before; but I found ſome remainders of pain. I burnt it the third time, and obſerved ſtill the ſame ef-

fects without, but a much greater within; for I ſtirred the joynt ſeveral times at eaſe; and growing bolder, I ſet my foot to the ground without any pain at all. After this I purſued the method preſcribed by the Book, and the Authors Son at *Utrecht*, and had a bruiſed Clove of Garlick laid to the place that was burnt, and covered with a large Plaiſter of *Diapalma*, to keep it fixed there; and when this was done, feeling no more pain, and treading ſtill bolder and firmer upon it, I cut a ſlipper to let in my foot ſwelled as it was, and walkt half a dozen turns about the room without any pain or trouble, and much to the ſurprize of thoſe that were about me, as well as to my own. For though I had reaſoned my ſelf before-hand into an opinion of the thing, yet I could not expect ſuch an effect as I found, which ſeldom reaches to the degree that is promiſed by the preſcribers of any remedies, whereas this went beyond it, having been applied ſo late, and the preſcription reaching only to the firſt attaque of the pain, and before the part begins to ſwell.

For

For the pain of the burning it ſelf, the firſt time it is ſharp, ſo that a man may be allowed to complain: I reſolved I would not, but that I would count to a certain number, as the beſt meaſure how long it laſted. I told fixſcore and four, as faſt as I could; and when the fire of the *Moxa* was out, all pain of burning was over. The ſecond time was not near ſo ſharp as the firſt, and the third a great deal leſs than the ſecond. The wound was not raw, as I expected, but looked onely ſcorched and black; and I had rather endure the whole trouble of the operation, than half a quarter of an hours pain in the degree I felt it the firſt whole night.

After four and twenty hours, I had it opened, and found a great bliſter drawn by the Garlick, which I uſed no more, but had the bliſter cut, which run a good deal of water, but filled again by next night; and this continued for three days, with only a Plaiſter of *Diapalma* upon it; after which time the bliſter dried up, and left a ſore about as big as a two-pence, which healed and went away in about a weeks

time longer; but I continued to walk every day, and without the leaſt return of pain, the ſwelling ſtill growing leſs, though it were near ſix weeks before it was wholly gone. I favoured it all this while more than I needed, upon the common opinion that walking too much might draw down the humor; which I have ſince had reaſon to conclude a great miſtake, and that if I had walked as much as I could from the firſt day the pain left me, the ſwelling might have left me too in a much leſs time.

The talk of this cure run about the *Hague*, and made the converſation in other places, as well as in the viſits I received while I kept my Chamber, which was about a fortnight after the burning. Monſieur *Zulichem* came to me among the reſt of the good company of the Town, and much pleaſed with my ſucceſs, as well from his own great humanity, and particular kindneſs to me, as from the part he had in being the firſt preſcriber of my Cure, and from the opinion it gave him of a common good fortune befallen all that ſelt, or were in danger of the Gout.

Among

Among others he told it to, Monſieur *Serinchamps* was one, an Envoyé of the Duke of *Lorrains* then in Town; a perſon very much, and very deſervedly eſteemed among all the good company in Town, and to whom every body was kind upon the ſcore of his own good humour, or his Maſters ill fortunes: He had been long ſubject to the Gout, and with conſtant returns of long and violent fits two or three times in a year. He was a man frank and generous, & loved to enjoy health whileſt he had it, without making too much reflection upon what was to follow; and ſo when he was well, denied himſelf nothing of what he had a mind to eat or drink; which gave him a body full of humours, and made his fits of the Gout as frequent and violent as moſt I have known: When they came, he bore them as he could, and forgot them as ſoon as they were paſt, till a new remembrance. At this time he lay ill of a cruel fit, which was fallen upon his knee, and with extreme pain: When he heard of my Cure, he ſent to me firſt for the Relation of it, and upon it, for my *Moxa*, and for *Coleby* to

appl yit. He ſuffered it; but after his pleaſant way roared out, and ſwore at me all the while it was burning; and asked if I took him for a Sorcerer, that I ſent to burn him alive. Yet with all this, the pain went away upon it, and returned no more to the ſame place: but he was ſomething diſcouraged by a new pain falling ſome daies after upon his elbow on the other ſide, which gave him a new fit, though gentler and ſhorter than they uſed to be.

About the ſame time one of the Maids of my houſe was grown almoſt deſperate with the Tooth-ach, and want of ſleep upon it, and was without remedy. The Book gives the ſame Cure for certain in that ilneſs, by burning upon the great Vein under the Ear; and the man who ſold it at *Utrecht*, had aſſured *Coleby* he had ſeen many Cures by it in that kind. We reſolved to try; which was done, and the pain immediately taken away, and the Wench perfectly well, without hearing of it any more, at leaſt while ſhe was in my houſe.

Thus paſſed the firſt experiment; upon which Monſieur *Zalichem* giving an account

account of it to ſome of his Friends at *Greſham*-Colledg, came to me before I left the *Hague*, formally to deſire me from them, and from himſelf, that I would give a Relation of it that might be made publick, as a thing which might prove in appearance of common utility to ſo great numbers as were ſubject to that diſeaſe; And told me that ſome of *Greſham*-Colledg had already given order for Tranſlating into *Engliſh* the little *Batavian* Treatiſe. I commended the care of publiſhing it among us, and thereby inviting others to an experiment I had reaſon to approve; but excuſed my ſelf from any Relation of my own, as having too much buſineſs at that time, and at all times caring little to appear in publick. I had another reaſon to decline it, that ever uſes to go far with me upon all new inventions or experiments, which is, that the beſt trial of them is by time, and obſerving whether they live or no; and that one or two tryals can pretend to make no rule, no more than one Swallow a Summer; and ſo before I told my ſtory to more than my friends, I had a mind to make more

tryals my ſelf, or ſee them made by other people as wiſe as I had been.

During the confinement of this fit, I fell into ſome methods, and into much diſcourſe upon the ſubject of the Gout, that may be perhaps as well worth reflection by ſuch as feel or apprehend it, as what I have told of this *Indian* Cure. In the firſt place, from the day I kept my Chamber, till I left it, and began to walk abroad, I reſtrained my ſelf to ſo regular a dyet, as to eat fleſh but once a day, and little at a time, without Salt or Vinegar; and to one moderate draught, either of Water or ſmall Ale. I concluded to truſt to abſtinence and exerciſe, as I had ever reſolved, if I fell into this diſeaſe; and if it continued, to confine my ſelf wholly to the Milk-dyet, of which I had met with very many and great examples, and had a great opinion even in long and inveterate Gouts. Beſides this refuge, I met with, in my viſits and converſation ariſing upon my illneſs, many notions or medicines very new to me, and reflections that may be ſo perhaps to other men. Old Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw* told me, he laught at

at the Gout, and though he had been ſeveral times attaqued, yet it never gave him care nor trouble. That he uſed but one remedy, which was, whenever he felt it, to boyl a good quantity of Horſe-dung from a Stone-horſe of the *Hermelinne* colour, as he called it in *French*, which is a native white, with a ſort of raw noſe, and the ſame commonly about the eyes. That when this was well boiled in water, he ſet his leg in a pale-full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool for above an hour together. That after it, he drew his leg immediately into a warm bed, to continue the perſpiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the remedy be good, or the circumſtances of colour ſignifie any thing more, than to make more myſtery, I know not; but I obſerved that he ever had a ſett of ſuch *Hermelinne* Horſes in his Coach, which he told me was on purpoſe, that he might never want this remedy.

The Count *Kinski*, Ambaſſador from the Emperor to the Treaty at *Nimmeguen*, gave me a Receipt of the

Salt

Salt of Harts-horn, by which a famous *Italian*-Phyſician of the Emperors had performed mighty Cures upon many others as well as Himſelf, and the laſt year upon the Count *Montecuculi*; The uſe of this, I am apt to eſteem, both from the quality given it of provoking Sweat extremely, and of taking away all ſharpneſs from whatever you put it in; which muſt both be of good effect in the Cure of the Gout.

The *Rhyngrave*, who was killed laſt Summer before *Maſtricht*, told me his Father the old *Rhyngrave*, whom I knew very well, had been long ſubject to the Gout, and never uſed other method or remedy, than upon the very firſt fit he felt, to go out immediately and walk, whatever the weather was, and as long as he was able to ſtand, and preſſing ſtill moſt upon the foot that threatned him: when he came home he went to a warm bed, and was rubbed very well, and chiefly upon the place where the pain begun. If it continued, or returned next day, he repeated the ſame courſe, and was never laid up with it; and before his death

death recommended this courſe to his Son, if he ſhould ever fall into that accident.

A *Dutch*-man, who had been long in the *Eaſt-Indies*, told me, in one part of them where he had lived ſome time, the general remedy of all that were ſubject to the Gout, was rubbing with hands; and that whoever had Slaves enough to do that conſtantly every day, and relieve one another by turns till the motion raiſed a violent heat about the joynts where it was chiefly uſed, was never troubled much, or laid up by that diſeaſe.

My youngeſt Brother told me he had a Keeper very ſubject to it, but that it never laid him up, but he was ſtill walking after his Deer or his Stud while he had the fits upon him, as at other times, and often from morning to night, though in pain all the while. This he gave me as one inſtance, that poor and toiling men have ſometimes the Gout, and that many more may have it, who take no more notice of it, than his Keeper did, who yet he confeſt uſed to bring the fits of Gout upon him, by fits of drinking, which no doubt is

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a receipt that will hardly fail, if men grow old in the cuſtom.

Monſieur *Serinchamps* told me, a *Lorrain* Surgeon had undertaken to cure it by a more extraordinary way than any of theſe, which was by whipping the naked part with a great Rod of Nettles till it grew all over bliſtered; and that he had once perſwaded him to perform this penance in a ſharp fit he had, and the pain in his knee ſo violent, as helped him to endure this remedy. He ſaid it was cruel, that all where he was whipt, grew ſo angry, and ſwell'd as well as bliſter'd, that he thought it had given him a Fever that night. The next morning the part was all ſtiff as a boot, and the skin like parchmin; but that keeping it anointed with a certain Oyl likewiſe of Nettles, it paſt in two days, and the Gout too, without feeling any more pain that Fit.

All theſe things put together, with what a great Phyſician writes of Cures by whipping with Rods, and another with Holly, and by other cruelties of cutting, or burning, made me certainly conclude, that the Gout was a companion that ought to be treated like an enemy

enemy, and by no means like a friend, and that grew troubleſome chiefly by good uſage; and this was confirmed to me, by conſidering that it haunted uſually the eaſie and the rich, the nice and the lazy, who grow to endure much, becauſe they can endure little; That make much of it as ſoon as it comes, and yet leave not making much of themſelves too; That take care to carry it preſently to bed, and keep it ſafe and warm, and indeed lay up the Gout for two or three months, while they give out, that the Gout lays up them. On t'other ſide, it hardly approaches the rough and the poor, ſuch as labour for meat, and eat only for hunger; that drink water, either pure, or but diſcoloured with Malt; that know no uſe of wine, but for a Cordial, as it is, and perhaps was only intended: Or if ſuch men happen by their native conſtitutions to fall into the Gout, either they minde it not at all, having no leiſure to be ſick; or they uſe it like a Dog, they walk on, or they toil and work as they did before, they keep it wet and cold; or if they are laid up, they are perhaps forced

forced by that to faſt more than before; and if it laſts, they grow impatient, and fall to beat it, or whip it, or cut it, or burn it; and all this while perhaps never know the very name of the Gout.

But to follow my experiment: I paſt that Summer here at *Nimmeguen*, without the leaſt remembrance of what had happen'd to me in the Spring, till about the end of *September*, and then began to feel a pain that I knew not what to make of, in the ſame joynt, but of my other foot: I had flattered my ſelf with hopes, that the vapor had been exhaled, as my learned Authors had taught me, and that thereby the buſineſs had been ended; This made me neglect my *Moxa* for two days, the pain not being violent, till at laſt my foot begun to ſwell, and I could ſet it no longer to the ground. Then I fell to my *Moxa* again, and burnt it four times before the pain went clear away, as it did upon the laſt, and I walked at eaſe, as I had done the firſt time, and within ſix days after above a League, without the leaſt return of any pain.

I continued well till this Spring, when about the end of *March* feeling again

again the ſame pain, and in the ſame joynt, but of the firſt foot; and finding it grow violent, I immediately burnt it, and felt no more after the third time; was never off my legs, nor kept my Chamber a day. Upon both theſe laſt experiments, I omited the application of Garlick, and contented my ſelf with a Plaiſter only of *Diapalma* upon the place that was burnt, which cruſted and healed in very few days, and without any trouble. I have ſince continu'd perfectly well to this preſent *June*; and with ſo much confidence of the Cure, that I have been content to trouble my ſelf ſome hours with telling the ſtory, which, 'tis poſſible, may at one time or other be thought worth making publick, if I am further confirmed by more time & experiments of my own, or of others. And thereby I may not only ſatisfie Monſieur *Zulichem*, but my ſelf too, who ſhould be ſorry to omit any good I thought I could do to other men, though never ſo unknown.

But this Cure, I ſuppoſe, cannot pretend to deal with inveterate Gouts, grown habitual by long and frequent returns,

returns, by diſpoſitions of the ſtomach to convert even the beſt nouriſhment into thoſe humours, and the veſſels to receive them. For ſuch conſtitutions, by all I have diſcovered, or conſidered upon this ſubject, the Remedies (if any) are to be propoſed either from a conſtant courſe of the Milken-dyet, continued at leaſt for a year together; Or elſe from ſome of thoſe methods commonly uſed in the Cure of a worſe diſeaſe (if at leaſt I may be ſo bold with one that is ſo much in vogue), the uſual exceptions to the firſt, are not only ſo long a conſtraint, but the weakneſs of Spirits whileſt it continues, and the danger of Fevers whenever 'tis left off. There may, I believe, be ſome Care neceſſary in this laſt point, upon ſo great a change; but for the other, I have met with no complaints among thoſe that have uſed it; and Count *Egmont*, who has done ſo, more, I believe, than any other man, has told me he never found himſelf in ſo much vigour, as in the midſt of that courſe. I have known ſo many great examples of this Cure, and heard of its being ſo familiar in *Auſtria*, that I wonder it has

has gained no more ground in other places, and am apt to conclude from it, that the loſs of pain is generally thought to be purchaſed too dear by the loſs of pleaſure.

For the other, I met with a Phyſician whom I eſteemed a man of truth that told me of ſeveral great Cures of the Gout, by a courſe of *Guiacum*, and of two Patients of his own that had gone ſo far as to be fluxed for it, and with ſucceſs. And indeed there ſeems nothing ſo proper, as what pretends to change the whole maſs of the blood, or elſe a long courſe of violent perſpiration. But the miſchief is, that the Gout is commonly the diſeaſe of aged men, who cannot go through with theſe ſtrong Remedies, which young men play with upon other occaſions; and the reaſon, I ſuppoſe, why theſe ways are ſo little practiſed, is becauſe it happens ſo ſeldom that young men have the Gout.

Let the diſeaſe be new or old, and the remedies either of common or foreign growth, there is one Ingredient of abſolute neceſſity in all caſes: For whoever thinks of curing the Gout

without great Temperance, had better reſolve to endure it with patience: And I know not whether ſome deſperate degrees of Abſtinence would not have the ſame effect upon other men, as they had upon *Atticus*, who weary of his Life as well as his Phyſicians, by long and cruel pains of a Dropſical Gout, and deſparing of any Cure, reſolved by degrees to ſtarve himſelf to death, and went ſo far, that the Phyſicians found he had ended his Diſeaſe inſtead of his Life; and told him, that to be well, there would need nothing but onely reſolve to live. His Anſwer was noble, That ſince dying was a thing to be done, and he was now ſo far on his way, he did not think it worth the while to return. This was ſaid and done, and could indeed have been ſo by none but ſuch a man as *Atticus*, who was ſingular in his Life, as well as his Death; and has been ever, I confeſs, by me as much eſteemed in both, as any of thoſe that have made greater figures upon the buſie Scenes of their own times, and ſince in Records of Story and of Fame.

But perhaps ſome ſuch Methods might

might ſucceed with others upon the deſigns to live, as they did with him upon thoſe to die; and though ſuch degrees may be too deſperate, yet none of Temperance can, I think, be too great for thoſe that pretend the Cure of inveterate Gouts, or indeed of moſt other Diſeaſes to which Mankind is expoſed, rather by the viciouſneſs than by the frailty of their natures. Temperance, That Virtue without Pride, and Fortune without Envy, that gives indolence of body, and tranquility of mind; the beſt Guardian of youth and ſupport of old age: The Precept of Reaſon, as well as Religion; and Phyſician of the Soul as well as the Body; The Tutelar Goddeſs of Health, and univerſal medicine of Life, that clears the head, and cleanſes the blood, that eaſes the ſtomach, and purges the bowels, that ſtrenghens the nerves, enlightens the eyes, and comforts the heart. In a word, that ſecures and perfects digeſtion, and thereby avoids the fumes and winds to which we owe the Collique and the Spleen; thoſe crudities and ſharp humors that feed the Scurvie and the Gout, and thoſe ſlimy dregs,

out of which the Gravel and Stone are formed within us. Diſeaſes by which we often condemn our ſelves to greater torments and miſeries of life, than have perhaps been yet invented by Anger or Revenge, or inflicted by the greateſt Tyrants upon the worſt of men.

I do not allow the pretence of Temperance to all ſuch as are ſeldom or never drunk, or fall into Surfeits; for men may loſe their health without loſing their ſenſes; and be intemperate every day, without being drunk perhaps once in their lives: Nay, for ought I know, if a man ſhould paſs the month in a Colledg-diet, without exceſs or variety of Meats or of Drinks, but only the laſt day give a looſe in them both, and ſo far till it comes to ſerve him for Phyſick rather than food, and he utter his ſtomach as well as his heart; He may perhaps as to the meer conſiderations of Health, do much better than another that eats every day but as men do generally in *England*, who pretend to live well in Court or in Town; that is in plenty and Luxury, with great variety of meats, and a dozen

dozen glaſſes of Wine at a meal, ſtill ſpurring up appetite when it would lye down of it ſelf; flusht every day but never drunk; and with the help of dozing three hours after dinner, as ſober and wiſe as they were before.

But that which I call Temperance, and reckon ſo neceſſary in all attempts and methods of Curing the Gout, is a regular and ſimple dyet, limited by every mans experience of his own eaſie digeſtion, and thereby proportioning as near, as well as can be, the daily repairs to the daily decays of our waſting bodies. Nor can this be determined by meaſures and weights, or any general Leſſian rules; but muſt vary with the vigor or decays of Age or of Health, and the uſe or diſuſe of Air, or of Exerciſe, with the changes of Appetite; and thereby what every man may find or ſuſpect of the preſent ſtrength or weakneſs of digeſtion: And in caſe of Exceſſes, I take the *German* Proverbial Cure by a *hair of the ſame beaſt*, to be the worſt in the world; and the beſt to be that which is called the Monks Diet, to eat till you are ſick, and faſt till you are well again. In all courſes

ſes of the Gout, the moſt effectual point I take to be abſtinence from Wine, further than as a Cordial where faintneſs or want of ſpirits require it; And the uſe of water, where the ſtomach will bear it, as I believe moſt mens will, and with great advantage of digeſtion, unleſs they are ſpoiled with long and conſtant uſe of Wines or other ſtrong drinks. In that caſe they muſt be weaned, and the habit changed by degrees, and with time, for fear of falling into Conſumptions, inſtead of recovering Dropſies or Gouts. But the Wines uſed by thoſe that feel or fear this Diſeaſe, or purſue the Cure, ſhould rather be *Spaniſh* or *Portugal*, than either *French* or *Rheniſh*; and of the *French*, rather the *Provence* or *Languedoc*, than the *Bordeaux*, or *Campagne*; and of the *Rheniſh*, the *Ringaw* and *Bleker*, of which at leaſt it may be ſaid that they do not ſo much harm as the others.

But I have known ſo great Cures, and ſo many, done by obſtinate reſolutions of drinking no Wine at all, that I put more weight upon the part of Temperance, than any other. And I doubt very much whether the great encreaſe

encreaſe of that Diſeaſe in *England* within theſe twenty years, may not have been occaſioned by the cuſtom of ſo much Wine introduced into our conſtant and common Tables. For this uſe may be more pernicious to health, than that of Taverns and Debauches according to the old ſtyle, which were but by fits, and upon ſet or caſual encounters. I have ſometimes thought that this cuſtom of uſing Wine for our common drink, may alter in time the very Conſtitution of our Nation, I mean the native tempers of our bodies & minds, and cauſe a heat and ſharpneſs in our humours, which is not natural to our Climate. Our having been denied it by nature, is argument enough that it was never intended us for common uſe; nor do I believe it was ſo in any other Countries, there being ſo ſmall a part of the world where it grows; and where it does, the uſe of it pure being ſo little practiſed, and in ſome places defended by cuſtoms or Laws. So the *Turks* have not known it, unleſs of late years; and I have met with many *Spaniards* that never taſted it pure in their lives; nor in the time when I was in *France*,

France, did I obſerve any I converſt with to drink it unmixt at meals. The true uſe of Wine, is either as I mentioned, for a Cordial; and I believe there is not a better to ſuch as drink it ſeldom; Or elſe what the mother of *Lemuel* tells her Son, *Give ſtrong drink to him that is ready to periſh, and wine to thoſe that are heavy of heart; let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his miſery no more.* At leaſt it ought to be reſerv'd for the times and occaſions of feaſts and of joy, and be treated like a Miſtreſs rather than a Wife, without abandoning either our wits to our humours, or our health to our pleaſure, or that of one ſenſe to thoſe of all the reſt, which I doubt it impairs. This Phyloſophy I ſuppoſe may paſs with the youngeſt and moſt ſenſual men, while they pretend to be reaſonable; but whenever they have a mind to be otherwiſe, the beſt way they can take, is to drink or to ſleep, and either of them will ſerve the turn.

FINIS.